

**Centre for Theoretical Sociology and Sociology of Education**

**The Effectiveness of Schooling and Educational  
Resource Management in Belgium (Flanders)**

**Jef C. Verhoeven**

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**Katholieke Universiteit Leuven**

**Departement Sociologie**

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## Preface

The project *The effectiveness of schooling and educational resource management in Belgium (Flanders)* is one of the national projects constituting the international project *The effectiveness of schooling and educational resource management* organized by the OECD, Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs. This national project is sponsored by the Department of Education of the Ministry of the Flemish Community (Belgium), directed by Mr. G. Monard, the Secretary-general.

It was the purpose of the sponsors and the researchers to collaborate as closely as possible to the agreements made at the meetings of the participating countries in Paris. For that reason the questionnaire proposed by the experts was used, albeit adapted to the local situation. The questionnaire was used as an outline for in-depth interviewing providing a great deal of interesting material about the school policy in twelve secondary schools.

This report successively discusses the following issues: 1) The political and educational structure; 2) Research on school policy; 3) Research design; 4) The context of the schools; 5) Aims and directions of school policy; 6) Organization of school policy; and 7) Results of school policy.

Since both authors are not native English speakers the English of the report was sometimes less than wholly satisfactory. Some sections were corrected by Mr. P. Wouters, a member of the Inspectorate and an English specialist, to whom we are very grateful.

Undoubtedly this report would have lacked correct English phrasing without the help of Professor Bryan Wilson (All Souls College, University of Oxford) who kindly read the report and advised us about improvements. Without his contribution the report would have been less clearly expressed, though its

shortcomings are all our own. It is with special gratitude that I mention his contribution.

Moreover, we were able also to rely on the critical reading of some members of the Centre for Theoretical Sociology and Sociology of Education of the University of Leuven, viz. Stefaan Bekaert, Ilse Beuselinck, Dirk Maetens, Joeri Vancoillie. We thank them for this important help.

The critical comments of two senior civil servants of the Department of Education, namely Mr. Peter Michielsens, the Inspector-general of Secondary Education, and Mr. Tony Van Haver, the head of the Service for International Relations of the Department of Education were of the utmost value to us. Their attention to our work was an important stimulus for which we are very grateful.

Finally, at the conclusion of this project we should like especially to thank the heads, teachers, parents and secretariats of the schools, who so patiently and courteously took the time and trouble to provide us with the information we sought. Without their co-operation this project could never have reached its final conclusion.

Jef C. Verhoeven  
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Director of the Centre for Theoretical  
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## Chapter 1. The political and the educational structure

### § 1. Some constitutional characteristics of Belgium (Flanders) and their consequences for the educational system

Since the 1970s Belgium has gradually moved from a unitary, very centralized state to a federal state. This process developed little by little to reach a point on the 5th of May 1993 (Wijziging van de Grondwet van 5 mei 1993 in B.S., 8 mei 1993 (eerste uitgave)) when Belgium could be called a federal country. The complex linguistic situation of the country has been the basis of an elaborate federal structure. We confine the description of this structure to the most essential characteristics.

As in other federal countries there is in Belgium a federal and a state level. The difference from most other federations is that there is more than one state level. Instead of states, the Belgian federation is composed of three Communities and three Regions.

The three Belgian **Communities** are the Flemish, the French, and the German-speaking community. The Communities are responsible for policy in relation to cultural and person-related issues (e.g., culture, language, education, welfare, health)<sup>1</sup>

The three **Regions** are the Flemish, the Walloon, and the Brussels Region. The Regions are responsible for economic policy, energy, science, public works and transport, and town and country planning.

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that there are four linguistic areas: a Dutch-language, a French-language, a German-Language area, and a bilingual area (Brussels).

The Communities and the Regions do not coincide with each other. In Flanders both governments have merged. For that reason Flanders has one parliament (Vlaamse Raad) and one government (de Vlaamse Regering). Within this government the Minister of Education is responsible for the education policy in Flanders and he is supported by the Education Department of the Ministry of the Flemish Community.

Only three issues are still the sole responsibility of the national government : 1) the age at which compulsory education begins and ends<sup>2</sup>; 2) the minimum diploma requirements; and 3) the pension system of the teachers. All other education issues are the responsibility of the Communities.

Since the budgets of the Communities and the Regions are provided by the national government, they are affected by the peculiar situation of the Belgian national budget, which is suffering under a large national debt. This has its influence on the budget for education, which is the responsibility of the Flemish government and determines its education policy and will probably continue to do so<sup>3</sup>. In the future, all solutions to improve the effectiveness of schooling will be linked more and more to the decreasing financial resources. This challenge has contributed to measures concerning the effectiveness of schooling and educational resource management, as we shall discuss later.

Although education in general is no longer the responsibility of the central Belgian government, the constitution states some principles which

<sup>2</sup> Full time compulsory education continues until the age of 16 and part-time compulsory education from 16 until 18. During the part-time period the pupil can attend part time classes and part-time work.

<sup>3</sup> Although Flanders has not yet the same problems in relation to the budget of education as Wallonia, it will become more precarious in the future if no measures are taken (Verhoeven, 1992).

determine in a fundamental way the education structure in the three Communities.

Ever since the first constitution (1831) article 17 has guaranteed the freedom of education, and although this article was changed later, the principle itself is still intact (Craenen en Dewachter, 1990: 42-45). At the moment, the Community is required to preserve the freedom of choice of parents for a particular kind of education, and also to organize neutral education. Neutral, in this context means that the Community has an obligation to organize schools "with respect for the philosophical, ideological, or religious ideas of the parents and the pupils". This article also determines that everybody has the right to receive education in which "fundamental rights and liberties" are recognized. In order to protect these rights the Community has to warrant free education. These principles are structurally translated in the right of individual persons or corporate bodies to organize education that parents are asking for. This is the constitutional basis for the autonomy of the educational networks. This freedom to establish schools is limited to a certain level, in that the Community is bound by rules and criteria which schools have to meet if they wish to offer officially acknowledged diplomas to their pupils and to receive the necessary subsidy.

Flanders has three educational networks:

- 1) The network of Community education: all schools under the authority of the ARGO ('Algemene Raad van het Gemeenschapsonderwijs' or Autonomous Community Education Council), an independent board organizing neutral Community education.
- 2) The network of subsidized official education: all schools organized by the provincial or municipal authorities. Most of these schools are neutral, although some are denominational.
- 3) The network of subsidized private education: all schools organized by natural or artificial persons. Most of these schools are Catholic, a minority of them are



non-denominational<sup>4</sup>. Because the majority of the private schools are Catholic schools, we included only Catholic schools in our case study. The Catholic schools are united in the umbrella organization, NSKO (National Secretariat of Catholic Schools), which represents the Catholic schools on the national level in discussions with the minister or the unions about the organization of education. In principle, the organizing authorities of the Catholic schools are independent, but generally they agree to act according to agreements made within the NSKO.

## § 2. The general structure of the educational system

Three levels of education are organized: elementary education, secondary education, and higher education. No more than a short description of the elementary and the higher level will now follow. A more detailed presentation of the secondary level is given, because it is on this level that we did the fieldwork for chapters four, five, six, and seven.

### 2.1. Elementary education

Elementary education is split into two parts: non-compulsory nursery school (children of 2.5 to 6 years old) and compulsory primary school (children of 6 to 12 years old). In **nursery school** the main purposes are the improvement of social adaptation, intellectual and language skills, and the development of the motor system. Play and games are the most important techniques to attain these purposes (MVO, 1992: 10).

**Primary schools** teach basic skills, stimulate the attention of the children to the world, improve intellectual and social attitudes, and stimulate creativity. In 1973 reformed primary education ('Vernieuwd Lager Onderwijs') was

<sup>4</sup> For a distribution of the pupils over the networks, see appendix 1.

started. This innovation promoted a more inductive approach to education in which teachers were required to pay more explicit attention to the personality development of the children (MVO, 1992: 11).

### 2.2. Secondary education

In theory secondary schools provide education to youngsters between 12 and 18 years old. At the moment the secondary education has a very complicated structure, because there are three ways in which this level of education is offered:

- 1) the reformed secondary education or type I (introduced in 1971);
- 2) the traditional or type II secondary education (introduced in 1957);
- 3) the unified structure (introduced in 1989).

It is planned that in 1995 all secondary education will be organized according to one type, viz. the unified structure. Type I and Type II will have disappeared by then. What are the main characteristics of these school types? Type I schools seek to keep pupils of different ability levels together as long as possible. Pupils are not required to choose a particular branch of education at the beginning of secondary school. Choice is postponed as long as possible. This is totally different in Type II schools: from the first form of secondary school pupils have to choose a particular branch. For several reasons (see later) the government decided to reorganize the structure of secondary education as one 'unified structure'. In this system the policy maker wanted to keep some principles of type I schools (postponement of the choice of branch) and those of type II schools (by giving freedom to schools to stress some subjects in the first grade, banding is possible). Because this unified structure is a very important educational resource for the future, we wish to be more explicit about it. A good and short description is given by the Ministry of Education (MVO, 1992: 12). We quote:

"In the unified structure, the choice pupils must make is postponed, leading them to come into contact with as many subjects as possible. Great weight is attached to basic education. Part of that basic education is identical for all pupils of the same year." This is the **common part**. Beyond that, pupils can make a number of choices or **options**.

"The six years of secondary education are divided into 3 grades, each consisting of 2 years. The pupils can opt for a 7th year after the 3rd TSO, KSO or BSO grade, or for a 5th year after the 2nd grade."

"The **first grade** consists of the 1st and 2nd year of secondary education. In the 1st year A, at least 27 of the 32 weekly periods concern basic education." This education is common for all pupils of the same school. In the 2nd year, a minimum of 24 periods deals with basic training, at least 14 of which are common for all pupils.

"The 1st year B in the first grade is meant for pupils who lag behind or who are less suited to mainly theoretical training. This year bridges the gap between primary and secondary education. Afterwards, pupils can go on to the second year of vocational secondary education (BSO) or to 1st year A."

"The **second grade** consists of the 3rd and 4th years of secondary education. From the second grade on, the pupil involved chooses a particular branch of study within ASO, TSO, KSO or BSO."

"The **third grade** consists of the 5th and 6th years. Specific training can be attended to with the eventual occupational choice or the intention of possible higher education in mind. Some branches of study exist only from the 3rd grade on."

"After the 3rd grade (ASO, TSO, KSO), or after the 7th BSO year, the pupil is presented with a secondary education diploma."

Diagram 1: The unified structure for secondary education.

	GENERAL	TECHNICAL	THE ARTS	VOCATIONAL
	Year preparing for HO	7th specialization year	7th specialization year	7th specialization year or 7th year DSO
3rd grade	6th ASO year 5th ASO year	6th TSO year 5th TSO year	6th KSO year 5th KSO year	6th BSO year 5th BSO year 5th BSO perfection year
2nd grade	4th ASO year 3rd ASO year	4th TSO year 3rd TSO year	4th KSO year 3rd KSO year	4th BSO year 3rd BSO year
1st grade	2nd year 1st year A			2nd BSO year 1st year B

ASO stands for general secondary education.

TSO stands for technical secondary education.

KSO stands for artistic secondary education.

BSO stands for vocational secondary education.

HO stands for higher education.

DSO stands for the 7th BSO year in which the secondary education diploma might be obtained.

It should be mentioned that these are the types of schools for pupils in a full time programme of education. For pupils in a part-time programme (if they prefer, starting from 16 year) part-time education centres (CDO = Centrum voor Deeltijds Onderwijs) have been created since 1983. Fifteen periods are organized weekly; for the rest of the time pupils are supposed to have a part-time job (possibly as an apprentice).

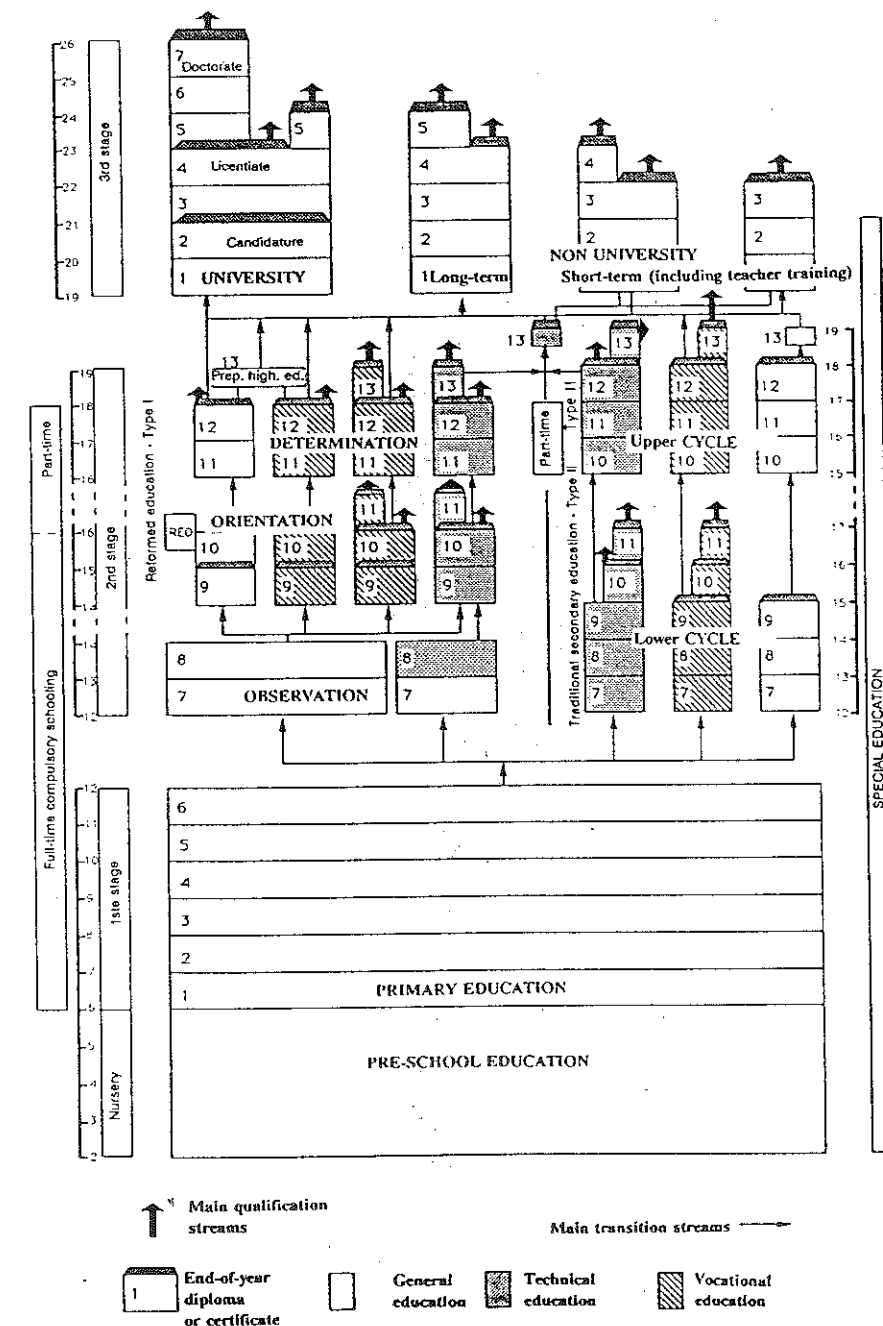
## 2.3. Higher Education

Higher education is open to all candidates who have the diploma of higher secondary education<sup>5</sup>. No entry examinations are organized by the institutions for higher education except of the study of engineering science<sup>6</sup>.

Higher education is organized in two different types of institutions, viz.

1) **higher non-university education institutions**, and 2) **university education**. The first group is divided into two kinds of trainings: 1) short term (3 years, Hoger Onderwijs van het Korte Type), and long-term training (4 or 5 years, Hoger Onderwijs van het Lange Type). A wide variety of professions are trained in these institutions. The second type of higher education is provided by the universities. Depending on the faculty, a basic training lasts 4 (e.g. humanities), 5 (e.g. engineering) or 7 (e.g. medicine) years. Most of the students stop after they have got a 'kandidaat' diploma (more or less a B.A.) and a 'licentiaat' diploma (more or less a M.A.). Only a small proportion go on for a Ph.D., which takes another 3 or 4 years or more.

Diagram 2: The Belgian education system (Lejeune e.a., 1991. 32).



<sup>5</sup> This is not the case for graduates of vocational schools, unless they have taken a special examination.

<sup>6</sup> This does not mean that the principle of numerus clausus is applied.

### § 3. Policy in relation to effectiveness of schooling and educational resource management

In recent years educational policy in Flanders has been characterized by the continuous stress on the equal financing of the networks; democratization; the improvement of equality of opportunities in school for natives and immigrant children; devolution; and the improvement of the quality of education (Verhoeven e.a. 1991). We will not elaborate on these more general principles. Instead we shall focus on some specific measures taken by the government to attain these goals. Most of these measures have a direct impact on local school policy and determine educational resource management, but some have not (e.g. the Flemish Education Council or VLOR). Yet the VLOR is too important to be omitted. It is not the intention to say very much about these issues on the Community level, but to highlight the consequences of these measures mainly on the school level - and most specifically for secondary schools.

In the following pages the topics which will come to the fore are: 1) participatory councils, 2) financial management of the schools; 3) the unified structure of secondary education; 4) the new inspectorate; 5) the pedagogical counselling services; 6) the Education Development Service; 7) multicultural education; 8) teacher training and extra training; and 9) the Flemish Education Council.

#### 3.1. New participatory structures

The global education policy of the Flemish government is characterized by stressing a more democratic decision-making structure, and devolution. Whereas until the 1980s decision-making in the community schools was the prerogative of the Minister and the ministry in the community schools, this is now the right of an independent body (ARGO) and the local school councils (LSC). Subsidized free

schools already enjoyed wide autonomy, but these schools were free to consult staff councils or the like. The Participation Act of the Subsidized Education (October 23rd 1991)<sup>7</sup> has guaranteed a participation of teachers and parents in particular matters. What are these new structures?

Since the ARGO Act (December 19th, 1988)<sup>8</sup> the Minister of education has no longer been the organizing authority of the **Community education**. In his place came the ARGO, whose Central Council (Centrale Raad), is responsible for the operation of the ARGO and the Community schools. The government provides the money on the base of a budget proposed by the Central Council. The Central Council has the obligation to determine the pedagogical mission of the Community network, to define the curriculum, and to co-ordinate the development of the Community network. It appoints and promotes staff<sup>9</sup>, and undertakes the financial and equipment management, except for the domains discussed in 3.2.

In each school or group of schools (when the schools are located at the same site) a local school council<sup>10</sup> is partly elected by the parents. Moreover members of local economic, social and cultural organizations, and of the pedagogic council ('pedagogisch college'<sup>11</sup>) are coopted. The head of the school is also a member. If more schools belong to the council, only one head has the right to vote and this head acts as the governor ('afgevaardigd bestuurder'). The

<sup>7</sup> 'Decreet betreffende de medezeggenschap in het gesubsidieerd onderwijs van 23 oktober 1991', *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 14/11/1991: 25527-25530.

<sup>8</sup> 'Bijzonder Decreet betreffende de Autonome Raad voor het Gemeenschapsonderwijs van 19 december 1988', *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 29/12/1988: 17818-17827.

<sup>9</sup> Rights, duties, required diplomas, etc. are determined by the Act of March 27th 1991 concerning the judicial position of Community education staff members.

<sup>10</sup> In schools smaller than 1,000 pupils this council has 12 members, and 15 members if there are more pupils.

<sup>11</sup> This council is elected by the staff of the school. The head is a member, but has no right to vote. This council is no innovation. It was already working in the schools before the ARGO Act.



governor prepares the LSC meetings and applies the decisions of the LSC. The LSC approves the school work plan, proposed by the pedagogic council, selects temporary staff which meet the formal Community prescriptions, and proposes temporary staff for appointment to the Central Council. The responsibility of the LSC for financial and equipment management will be described in 3.2.

The decision-making structure of the Catholic schools is very diverse, and apart from two legal advisory councils, viz. the works council ('Ondernemingsraad') and the health-and-safety council ('Comité voor veiligheid, gezondheid en verfraaiing van de werkplaats'), participation in decision-making by parents or teachers was not obligatory. This situation changed after the Participation Act, creating for teachers and parents a legal right to have a voice in school policy. Nevertheless, there are some legal forms of participation organized in all schools.

In Catholic schools the main body is the organizing authority managing one or more schools. Although this body acts as the legal decision-maker, in most schools the daily management of the schools is granted to the head, who can take advice from the various councils (e.g. a management council, a staff council), but who retains responsibility for final decisions regarding didactics, curriculum, finance, equipment, staff<sup>12</sup>, etc. (Devos e.a., 1989). Since 1975 schools with more than 100 staff have been obliged to have a works council, and those with more than 50 a health-and-safety council. Half of the representatives of these councils represent the school management, and half the teacher union. These councils have the right to give advice and to exercise general control. Decisions are taken only by the works council, and only concerning the administration of social work in the school; it has no competence in other areas.

<sup>12</sup> Selection and appointment of staff has to be made according to the Act of 27th March 1991 with respect to the judicial position of staff in subsidized education and psycho-medical centers.

Since the Participation Act (October 23rd 1991) schools have been obliged to organize a 'participatieraad' (participation council), chaired by the head, who has to be independent of the factions of the council. The factions represented in the participation council are: the organizing authority, the staff, the parents, and co-opted representatives of the local community. Each faction has at least two representatives. Art. 19 §1 determines that if the school has union representatives or elected members of the works council these persons are then the representatives of the staff. For some issues the works council and the participation council have similar obligations. That this might create problems is not surprising. As it is the case in the works council, the participation council has no decision-making power, but has the right to **advise** on the general organization and operation of the school; the planning of the school; and general criteria for counselling and marking pupils. On the other hand, it has the right to **deliberate** (striving for a consensus) about the criteria<sup>13</sup> for the best distribution of time periods and the overall number of periods per teacher; the school rules; the transport; the health and the safety of the pupils. This council also has the right to be informed about all that touches school life. As these regulations make clear, the participation council does not reduce the responsibility of the organizing authority or of the head, it only creates a forum of deliberation for all participants in school life.

### 3.2. Financial and equipment management of the schools

The Community is supposed to provide the money for all schools, since art. 17 §3 of the Constitution determines that all children should have a free education until 18. The Community provides the salaries of the staff, and although the staff of the Catholic network are not civil servants their salaries are paid directly by the Ministry. Besides the salaries, the government funds operating and capital costs, and finances the construction of school buildings.

<sup>13</sup> It should be stressed that the deliberation is about the 'criteria', not about the actual application of the criteria.

The major part of financial resources is provided by the Community. Often the schools increase these resources a little by selling food and beverages, and by the activities of the parents' organization. Recently some initiatives were taken by both the Minister of Education and some factories in favour of the improvement of the equipment of technical schools, e.g. a programme for co-operation with industry for the training of lorry-drivers, and a programme for training in the production of synthetic material. This co-operation between industry and some schools is an interesting contribution to the provision of school equipment of technical schools.

Although some political parties and pressure groups have fought for the equal financing of all networks, there are still differences among them. The principles of the distribution of money among the networks and the schools differ in some respect. This was a reason for some criticism coming from the subsidized networks which received less money than the official Community network (Nicaise, Bergilez, 1991). Again, the areas and the structure of the decision-making are different in different networks and schools. First, we describe the national principles that underlie the distribution of money between schools; second, we depict the decision-making structure in the Community network and in the Catholic network.

### 3.2.1. Distribution of money

All staff is directly paid by the ministry<sup>14</sup>. The number of staff depends on the number of pupils in the school, but this does not mean that schools will always hire the staff to which they are entitled. Instead they may use their freedom to fulfil other pedagogical tasks.

The inequalities among the networks were diminished by the Education Act II (July 31st, 1990)<sup>15</sup> (MVO, 1992: 22-23) as far as the support for operating, capital costs, and construction costs are concerned. Operating costs are now distributed between schools on the base of points per pupil. Greater equality has also been created among the networks to pay for all kinds (e.g. school restaurant, surveillance of the pupils after school time) of extra school activities. Nevertheless, these subsidies are often considered to be too little to bear all the expenses.

The costs of construction of new buildings and restoration of old buildings were traditionally the obligation of the government for the Community schools, and of the organizing authorities for the schools of the other networks (Desender, 1993)<sup>16</sup>. Subsidized official schools could rely on a 60% subsidy of the invested capital and a subsidy to pay the interest on the mortgage granted by the government. The subsidized free schools received only a subsidy to pay the interest of the mortgage (Devos e.a., 1987: 345-365). The latter two networks considered this policy as very unequal. In consequence, these principles were

<sup>14</sup> This is not the case for the maintenance staff. Their salaries are paid from the subsidy for the operation of the school.

<sup>15</sup> 'Decreet betreffende het Onderwijs-II van 30 juli 1990', *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 18/8/1990: 15978-16005.

<sup>16</sup> This information is supported by an interview with P. Desender, 'wnd administrateur-generaal' of the DIGO.

changed by the Education Act I (July 5th 1989)<sup>17</sup>. Construction work in Community schools is still 100% financed by the government. This money is administered by the ARGO. Subsidized schools may apply for 60% of the costs and the government acts as a warrant for the remainder. This capital is administered by the DIGO ('Dienst voor infrastructuurwerken van het gesubsidieerd onderwijs'), an independent public body.

The ARGO is the proprietor of all school buildings of the Community network and it undertakes general planning, but it is the local school council of each school which takes the initiative for construction or restoration. The control of construction is the responsibility of the 'Scholenbouwfonds' of the ARGO<sup>18</sup>. Subsidized schools are the property of the organizing authorities and they apply for financing to the DIGO.

An important innovation of the Education Act I is that subsidized schools may also apply for financial help to buy 'heavy didactic equipment' (e.g. printing equipment, expensive machines etc.), which is a burden mainly for technical and vocational schools. Each year the Argo and the DIGO may use 10% of their budget for this purpose.

Although this policy was a remarkable improvement, mainly for the subsidized schools, it is clear that the budget provided by the government does not satisfy the demands of the schools. There were many more applications from all networks than could be granted by the ARGO and the DIGO. E.g. Desender calculates that the applications of the Catholic schools outnumber the

<sup>17</sup> 'Decreet betreffende het onderwijs van 5 juli 1989', *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 25/8/1989: 14677-14689.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Mr. Verlegh, Scholenbouwfonds ARGO.

available subsidy by 2.5 billion BEF. The situation of the other networks is not better<sup>19</sup>, and is even worse for the official subsidized network.

### 3.2.2. The decision-making structure

The Central Council of the ARGO is responsible for the preparation of the budget of the **Community network** (approved by the Flemish government). They own the Community school buildings and administer the budget for new constructions and restoration; the operating budget of their schools; the transport of pupils; and they approve the budgets of their schools, and grant the finance for operation and construction (ARGO Act, December 19th 1988, art. 35).

Each local school council (LSC) has the right to buy and administer school equipment. Every year these councils present a budget to the ARGO. The control of an adequate appropriation of the budget is the responsibility of a government commissioner and the ARGO office of examiners ('verificatiedienst'). If schools have to be renovated or need more space they may make propositions to the ARGO. Although this devolution started some years earlier (Devos e.a., 1989: 235-243), these new responsibilities could be seen as an improvement for local school management. To what extent heads consider this to be a real improvement will be discussed later.

In the **subsidized free network** the recent situation did not change very much. As described above, schools can rely on more means than before Education Act II, although these do not satisfy the actual needs. The operating costs and the subsidy for equipment are provided by the government according to the principles indicated above. Every year free schools justify to the state examiners ('verificateurs') their use of this money. Within the rules<sup>20</sup> they are

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Mr. Verlegh, Scholenbouwfonds ARGO.

<sup>20</sup> These rules are rather vague and open a wide spectrum of interpretation.

free to use the subsidy. If they want to construct new buildings, they can apply for support from the DIGO. Support will be granted within the regulations stipulated by the DIGO. In principle, the financial and equipment management is the responsibility of the organizing authority of a school. In practice most of the proposals and decisions are taken by the head of the school, sometimes in collaboration with one of the councils in the school. Where new buildings are to be constructed, decisions are taken by the organizing authorities (Devos e.a. 1989: 266-268).

### 3.3. The Unified Structure of Secondary Education

At the moment all secondary schools have taken the road to a unified structure. This was not the free choice of the schools. It was prescribed by law. Some were happy with the decision, others would have preferred the Type I or the Type II structure if they had been free to choose. The reason behind this development was that the freedom of the schools in the Catholic network<sup>21</sup> to choose Type I or for Type II had created many problems, which had even led to conflicts in the educational system. We mention only a few without suggesting that the issues discussed first are necessarily the most important. First, as far as the administration of the school was concerned, having two systems with different regulations made work very complicated. Second, the cost of Type I schools was so high that were the number of Type I schools to expand, this might cause budget problems to arise in the future. Third, parents were confused about the advantages of the different systems and demanded clarity. Fourth, in several areas rivalry among schools of the same network was growing, damaging the unity of the network. Fifth, the pedagogic comfort of the Type I schools was better than that of Type II. These were some of the reasons which propelled the decision to create a unified structure. This movement toward a unified structure started in the free network, but very soon

<sup>21</sup> The schools of the Community network had all the Type I structure.

the other networks joined in, and Education Act II (1990) determined the structure which all schools were to accept.

We have already indicated the general pattern of the unified structure. This pattern seeks to reconcile the basic principles of Type I and Type II. To a certain extent this aim is attained, but on the other hand, it should be stressed that schools have the possibility to construct the educational structure in such a way that it approaches the old preferred pattern. An example will make this clear. Old Latin schools can spend more time on Latin as an optional course in the first form than other schools, in that way streaming the intake of pupils. The same is possible for technology, or other subjects. In the second form schools have even more freedom to concentrate on certain fields. Although all schools have the same unified structure, they can stress their distinctive features.

Whatever the preferences of the schools in relation to the unified structure may be, the realization of the unified structure might be a challenge. How schools evaluate this new educational resource, will be discussed later.

### 3.4. The New Inspectorate

An important educational resource is the new inspectorate. We will use this concept because the structure and the function of the inspectorate were changed profoundly by the Inspection and Pedagogic Counselling Act of 17th July 1991<sup>22</sup>. The main task of the old inspectorate was to control the educational and teaching function of the teachers, whom they controlled individually. In the later part of the 1980s inspectors were also more and more supposed to counsel teachers. This new Act has split up these functions: the

<sup>22</sup> 'Decreet betreffende inspectie en pedagogische begeleidingsdiensten van 17 juli 1991', *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 31/08/1991: 18949-18963.



inspectorate inspects schools, and the pedagogic counselling centres take care of external counselling of schools and staff.

Besides this inspectorate Catholic schools in the old system had their own inspectorate. The freedom of education guarantees that free schools may define independently the curriculum and the teaching methods. These inspectors controlled mainly the content of the subjects and the didactics. In addition, they participated in curriculum committees. These inspectors could be very influential when a teacher was due for appointment. In performing these tasks these inspectors received no salary. Most of them were senior teachers with much experience (Devos e.a., 1987:225-234). Since the Act of 1991 the inspectorate has looked very different (see also Michielsens, 1992).

First, half the staff of the inspectorate is recruited in the two official networks, half in the subsidized free network<sup>23</sup>. Second, the task of the inspectorate is more specific than in the old system. This task can be summarized as follows: 1) controlling whether the schools organize the minimum curriculum<sup>24</sup> as determined by law; 2) establishing whether the attainment targets (see later, 3.5) are reached in each school and whether the linguistic laws are applied; 3) controlling the hygiene of classrooms, and school equipment; 4) advising the Minister about the subsidies to schools and the acceptance of new branches in a school, or the foundation of new schools; 5) advising the Minister in relation to educational policy. The inspectorate has no power to control the teaching methods, religious studies or moral studies.

<sup>23</sup> It should be mentioned that in 1991-92 74.5% of the secondary school pupils attended catholic schools.

<sup>24</sup> Education Act II (July 31 st 1990) determines the subjects which should be taught to the pupils of a particular form.

The innovation of the inspectorate is to be seen more in the daily operation of the inspectorate than in legal prescriptions<sup>25</sup>. All inspectors are inspectors of secondary education: their authority is not limited to a particular subject. The exclusive relation between a subject and an inspector (e.g. technology, history) has gone. Moreover, inspection is no longer conducted by one inspector, but by a team cooperating to make a global analysis of the school. This team has the right to speak with all members of the school or school councils, and has the permission to visit classes. The head of the school has always the right to be present at the interviews. Although inspectors observe teachers in the classroom, question pupils, both individually or in groups (possibly the pupil council), they have no power to give advice about the didactic capacities of a teacher. The Inspector-general: "We have no right to deliver a report which gives the head the opportunity to decide that a temporary teacher does not get tenure. The appointment of teachers is the responsibility of the organizing authorities", and "We must not assess a maths teacher as a person, but we must decide whether a school attains the standards a school should reach for maths". The reason for class visits is that the inspectorate should assess to what extent a school is approaching the attainment targets<sup>26</sup>. The inspectorate's report on a particular school is sent to both the organizing authority and to the head of the school, and is kept by the inspectorate. It is after all, the basis for recognition of the school, and in consequence the basis for the subsidy for free schools. It is expected by the inspectorate that the staff of the school will also have the opportunity to read the report. In some schools the report is discussed at staff council meeting, but no information is available whether this happens in most of the schools. The fact that the inspectorate's

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Mr. P. Michielsens, Inspector-general Secondary Education.

<sup>26</sup> This is not possible yet because the attainment targets are not determined. At the earliest the targets for the first grade will be determined starting on 1st September 1995 (see *Mededelingen van het NVKSO*, 23 juli 1993, Kl. 21.1., p.3). At the moment the inspectorate controls to what extent schools meet the standards included in the curriculum document of each school.

reports are sent only to the school where the investigation was conducted, shows that the education policy makers give priority to quality control related to certain standards, rather than to comparison with other schools. It was not the intention of the policy maker to generate fierce competition among the schools.

Since the task of the inspectorate has to rely on the work of the Education Development Service ('Dienst voor Onderwijsontwikkeling') and might give very important information to the Pedagogic Counselling Services ('Pedagogische Begeleidingsdiensten'), it is not unthinkable that cooperation between the three might reveal problems. These we shall discuss when the two other innovations are presented.

### 3.5. The Education Development Service (DVO)

The Education Development Service is an office newly created by the Inspection and Pedagogic Counselling Act to provide the inspectorate with the instruments for their work. But there is more. According to art. 9 §1 of the act this service must also formulate proposals concerning the attainment targets of the educational system for all educational levels except the universities. These attainment goals are very important for the inspectorate and for quality control in schools which is exercised by head, teachers and staff. The legislators considered this so important that these targets had to be included in an act.

**Attainment targets** are goals determined by the Community which all pupils should reach at the end of a particular grade<sup>27</sup>. In secondary schools they are to be determined for the three grades (see scheme 2) and for each branch (General, Technical, Vocational, and Arts), and they are confined to the subjects mentioned in the Education Act II.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Dr. R. Standaert, Director DVO.

The procedure of defining these attainment targets is as follows: 1) proposals are made by the scientific staff of DVO in collaboration with teachers and researchers of the university; 2) these proposals are to be sent to the Minister of Education, who will ask for the advice of the VLOR (see later); 3) after receiving the unanimous advice of the VLOR the Flemish government will determine the targets; and 4) they need the approval of the Flemish parliament. At this time of writing (August 1993) the targets of the first grade are being discussed at the VLOR. One of the problems the proposals of the DVO are facing is the fact that the organizing authorities have the right to determine the curriculum and the didactics. Attainment targets touch the content of subjects and the value system, which implies that the freedom of the organizing authorities is limited. The content of subjects and values are the domain of the organizing authorities, and the networks will look very carefully to see whether these rights are kept intact.

Besides the definition of attainment targets the DVO has some other tasks: 1) the development of instruments for the analysis and evaluation of schools, particularly instruments for assessing how close pupils come to the attainment targets; 2) the development of methods for the construction of a curriculum and time tables; and 3) the construction of plans to introduce new inspectors to the work and to organize extra training for inspectors. Although the attainment targets for secondary education are not yet available, the DVO has produced a provisional plan to help the inspectorate to realize its task.

At the time of writing the impact of the work of the DVO is not yet directly perceptible in the schools, but it might have an important influence on local school policy. For that reason we shall look later at the extent to which school members think that the work of this service might influence school policy.

## 3.6. The Pedagogic Counselling Services

Another important educational resource made available to schools by the government is the Pedagogical Counselling Services ('Pedagogische Begeleidingsdiensten' or PBD). The act which organizes the new inspectorate (Act of 31st July 1993, art. 87-97) also defines the organization and task of the PBDs. The legislature has determined that the umbrella organizations of the subsidized networks should establish a non-profit association to organize pedagogical counselling. The ARGO (community schools) may organize these services within its structure. These services should provide help by formulating the work-plan for schools according to their pedagogical mission. They should also take initiatives to promote the educational quality of schools, and the professional competence of the teachers. Each network has developed its own services, but the salaries of the counsellors and the costs for the operation of these services are paid by the ministry.

This is not the first time that the government has provided help for pedagogical counselling. Before the new counselling organization started the help came from teams supporting the implementation of the reformed secondary education or the old inspectorate. Since the new act, inspection and counselling are the responsibility of two separated organizations. How this separation is assessed by the schools will be investigated later. We provide a short description of the concept of the PBD of the Community network and the Catholic network.

The **PBD of the Catholic network** operates with a particular concept of pedagogic counselling different from that of earlier experiences<sup>28</sup>. Counselling has to do not only with educational innovation but also with the promotion of

the quality of education in the school. Schools are seen as organizational units (Vertommen, 1993), i.e. they should be approached as unities. Moreover it is up to the schools to invite the PBD workers to improve the quality of school life. The autonomy of the school is an important principle from which to start counselling work. To attain the global aim, viz. the improvement of educational quality in the school as an autonomous unit, counselling may be directed to more specific points, e.g. counselling for special subjects, or for special branches, or for special subject groups, etc. Counselling is seen as a process, and the most interesting formula of counselling is that in which school counsellors are helped by the counsellors of the PBD.

The content of the quality of education in Catholic schools can be understood according to the director of the Catholic PBD, only when we take three indicators into consideration: 1) quality of education can be improved only if we are aware of the philosophy of life which is at the basis of all teaching. In Catholic schools this philosophy should have a Christian inspiration; 2) Teaching should not only be seen as a transfer of knowledge, but should also include pedagogical activities; and 3) education should be seen within a wide cultural spectrum, and should contribute to interdisciplinary basic education.

The staff of the Catholic PBD is composed of former inspectors, former counsellors, former school heads, but also practising teachers. Most of these counsellors are part-time teachers and keep contact with the practice of teaching. The group of regular counsellors was not sufficient to do all this work. Their services are complemented by the contribution of voluntary counsellors who have proved to be well prepared for the work.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Mr. W. Vertommen, Director Algemene Pedagogische Begeleidingsdienst, Katholiek Onderwijs, and with Mr. A. Uytendaele, Director Pedagogische Dienst NVKSO.

The situation of the **PBD of the Community network** is slightly different<sup>29</sup>. This is because the ARGO is the only organizing authority of the Community schools, while the Catholic network is composed of many organizing authorities with 1 to 100 or more schools. For that reason the PBD of the ARGO has a more centralized structure. The basic intention of the PBD is to work as closely as possible with heads and teachers. This service considers counselling the main service to the schools, but inspection of teachers is also one of its duties. The report of assessment by this service is important information for the organizing authority before a temporary teacher is offered tenure. Counselling has many forms in this PBD: 1) visiting teachers and discussing their performance; 2) curriculum development; 3) the organization of workshops for teachers; and 4) a start is made with system counselling (e.g. teaching how to build a school work-plan).

As with the Catholic PBD, this PBD works with mainly former inspectors. Besides these, some supernumerary heads are also part of this counselling service. They have the same rights and obligations as the other counsellors.

Since the PBD of the ARGO also inspects teachers, it comes very close to the task of the inspectorate. This might appear to cloud the relationship with the inspectorate, but in practice this has happened very rarely. In the future the aim of this PBD will be to stress more and more its counselling function.

The inspectorate, the Education Development Service, and the Pedagogic Counselling Services are certainly making important contributions to the improvement of education in schools. The aims of the three institutions are very different, but otherwise also very close. It will be no surprise if, in the future,

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Mr. J. Van den Brande, 'Adviseur-coördinator' of the 'Pedagogische Begeleidingsdienst' of the 'ARGO'.

the three might come to interfere with one another. Some problems were already detected by the key persons we interviewed. One example of interference of one institution with another is found in the relation between inspectorate and PBD. The inspectorate may make a diagnosis of the situation of a school. The problem is then, how far can the inspectorate go in advising the school to take remedial measures. This last step may very easily be regarded as the proper domain of the PBD. Another solution to the problem could be that an inspectorate's school reports could be used by the PBD to give some help to the particular schools. Here, the problem is that reports of the inspectorate are not transferred to the PBD. A small check by the inspectorate of the schools which were inspected last year discovered that these schools paid attention to the problems indicated, but they did not apply for help to the PBD. Another structural problem which the cooperation of the inspectorate and the PBD is facing is the fact that the basic philosophy of the PBD of each network is different. This has no immediate consequences, since reports of the inspectorate are not given to the PBD, but should this occur in the future, attention would need to be paid to these differences.

### 3.7. Intercultural education

Belgium has always been a multicultural state and, since the 1960s, the increase of the population on the Belgian territory has more than ever before been influenced by the large numbers of immigrants. Later on this immigration created a new problem for the schools (Kochuyt & Verhoeven, 1993). At the beginning the immigrants who arrived were mostly adults. Later they got married and had children. From then on schools had to educate children with a culture different from that of the local population. Although the problem was recognized a long time ago, it is only recently that the government has started a



more intensive policy<sup>30</sup> to improve the situation of immigrant children in Flemish schools. This is very important because the number of immigrant children is still increasing, mostly in areas of immigrant concentration (Van Horen e.a., 1991). In 1980-81, the proportion of foreign children in Flemish schools was 4.2%, by 1991-92 the proportion had increased to 5.37%. Facing this problem and under the influence of the Royal Commissioner for immigrants a new policy was launched to promote equal education opportunities and to improve the integration of immigrant children.

Since September 1st, 1991 the government has launched several programmes<sup>31</sup> to enhance the opportunities of schools in caring for the specific problems of immigrant children. A large part of these programmes is intended for elementary schools, but they also create opportunities in the first grade of secondary schools (Leman, 1993), and for school year 1993-1994, these programmes are being expanded to the second grade of secondary schools. The 'project transferring' (project doorstroming) seeks to encourage immigrant pupils to continue their studies in the third grade of technical, general and art secondary education.

The first programme is known as 'Nederlands als Tweede Taal' (Dutch as second language), and is part of the 'educational priority area policy'. Special attention will be paid to the problems of immigrant children for whom Dutch is a second language. This programme is connected with school community work bringing immigrant parents into closer contact with the school of their children. The second programme is called 'Onderwijs in eigen taal en

<sup>30</sup> Since 1981 some schools have organized bi-cultural education. These initiatives were supported by the government under the title 'Elkaar Ontmoetend Onderwijs' (Education for meeting each other). These programmes provided teaching of some subjects in the native language of the immigrant children, and an adapted program of Dutch for non-native speakers.

<sup>31</sup> The government provides a special budget (e.g. for extra staff) to realize these programmes.

cultuur' (OETC or education in his/her own language and culture). This programme may be implemented on condition that at least 20 pupils in a school are of an ethnic group, that it is supported by at least 2/3 of their parents who ask to be put into operation. Some subjects are taught in the native language by teachers of the same origin, and others are taught in Dutch. Leman detects several problems in the realization of this program: 1) the foreign teachers do not always study Dutch and stay only for a short period in the school; 2) the lack of a proper curriculum for these pupils; 3) the lack of enthusiasm of some Flemish teachers for the programme.

Besides these programmes two others may be mentioned: intercultural education (initiatives of a local character, but with the same purposes as the former programmes); and 'welcome policy' ('Onthaalbeleid') (asking that special attention be given to recently arrived immigrant children as far as the teaching of Dutch is concerned).

A last major measure to improve the integration of immigrant children is the policy of discouraging their concentration in particular schools<sup>32</sup>. Immigrant children should be more evenly spread over more schools in order to expand the contact with Dutch-speaking children. To attain this goal it must not be forgotten that 'concentration schools' are often the result of the concentration of immigrant groups in particular neighbourhoods. Recently a proposal made by the Central Council of the VLOR (June 22nd 1993<sup>33</sup>) was sent to the Minister of Education to organize an experiment to prevent over-concentration of immigrant children in particular schools. All umbrella organizations of the networks agreed on the principle that consultation should be organized among the networks to prevent this

<sup>32</sup> Terkessidis and Van De Velde (1991:148-149) have shown that the higher the concentration of immigrant pupils in a school, the higher the proportion of pupils that have failed their examinations and have to sit for them again.

<sup>33</sup> Algemene Raad VLOR, 'Non-discriminatiebeleid in het onderwijs', 22 juni 1993, AR/RHE/DOC/034.

problem. This experiment will start in the secondary schools in eighteen cities in 1995-1996<sup>34</sup>.

This new policy for immigrant children is promising. Nevertheless some researchers have warned that this is a rather one-sided policy. Immigrant children are treated as a separate group, although they have characteristics similar to those of other groups in society. The consequence is that this policy might lead to their isolation from other groups. Another problem is that this policy is mainly a policy focused on immigrant children, while there is also a need for a multi-cultural education of native pupils. This policy is held to be conceptualized too much from the standpoint that immigrants are the cause of the problems, ignoring the influence of other factors (Laquière, 1992: 12-13; Verlot, 1990: 1). In spite of these remarks, it should be stressed that the essentials of government policy with regard to immigrant children are focused on a support for the school as a unit and not for immigrant pupils as such. The spokesman of the government emphasized in an interview that the future policy of the government would pay attention to the extent to which schools put forward policies which conform to official policy.

Even so, this governmental policy is an educational resource for schools. How these possibilities are used by the schools and how they treat immigrant children will be reported later.

<sup>34</sup> A recent reaction by the Director-general of the NSKO in relation to some press comments about this experiment made clear that this policy might touch the principle of freedom of education as it is interpreted by the Catholic network (De Wolf, 1993). It is to be expected that the intake of children with another religious background might create some special problems for schools with a Christian mission. How schools actually solve this problem will be described later.

### 3.8. Teacher training and extra training

Staff management is undoubtedly one of the major educational resources for school management. That is why teacher training<sup>35</sup> and extra training are at the core of research on educational resource management. Nevertheless we confine analysis to the extra training of teachers, because a school head has no direct influence on teacher training in general. The only possibility he has, is to hire teachers trained at a particular school and with some preferred personal characteristics. At the selection of the candidates the head is required to follow legal prescriptions, and at present s/he might be obliged to hire an appointed teacher from another school who is supernumerary in his/her school<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, many schools are unable to expand their staff (among other reasons because of the decrease of the number of pupils (decreasing birth rate)). The consequence is that staff management must rely on other approaches.

One of these is in-service training of teachers, a domain of which the government more and more has taken charge since the 1980s. The budget for in-service training in 1991 was 252 million BEF (MVO, 1992: 36). Already in the Education Act I (1989) art. 77 special funds were provided for in-service training. This act was revised in the Inspection and Pedagogic Counselling Act of July 17th 1991 and forms the basis of current in-service training.

The organizational structure of in-service training is the responsibility of the umbrella organizations of the networks. Each of them has a central body responsible for the organization of in-service training, and these central bodies

<sup>35</sup> Information about current teacher training can be found in MVO (1992:35) and in Ravez & Tistaert (1991). Recently an important discussion about the teacher training has started and will certainly lead to its reorganization. Definitive information is not available yet. On March 16th 1993 the Vlor (1993a) gave advice to the Minister of Education, but up to now no new act has been sanctioned by the Flemish parliament.

<sup>36</sup> Re-deployment causes problems for teachers who have to teach in two or more schools, and for heads who have to accept teachers whom they had no right to assess independently.

can rely on a number of centres linked to particular geographical areas or with a special training purpose. It is up to the schools to make an appeal to these centres.

It is not easy to give a reliable picture of in-service training because the information provided by the trainers was not always given according to the prescriptions. A recent report on the in-service initiatives in 1990-1992 delivers some interesting ideas about the in-service training system (Van Cauwenberghe e.a., 1993). We mention some figures of 1991-1992. In 1992 the sessions applying for subsidy reached a total of 16,423. The researchers warn that these figures should not be taken as the number of sessions actually taking place, since not all planned sessions were actually organized. Almost as much time was spent in planning the sessions as to the training itself, and only a small part of the time (12% in 1991) was spent on post-care programmes. Between 73% and 90% of the costs of the staff were paid to the appointed staff; a minor part was paid to occasional collaborators. Depending on the network in 1992 the average cost of a session varied between about 6,000 BEF and about 9,600 BEF. The trainers were asked to assess whether they had attained the targets. This is, of course, a very personal judgement and cannot be taken as an objective indicator of the effectiveness of the training. In 1991, 56% of the programmes were judged to have attained the targets partially, and 44% were held to have been successful.

On the base of the information given by 1,078 teachers in 23 secondary schools we calculated that on average a teacher had participated in .61 sessions during 1987-1989, and this figure varied from .42 to .85 among the schools (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 72-76). The figures also show that the extra training within the school (.44 on 1) has less influence on teaching behaviour than extra

training outside the school (.59 on 1). This is certainly not sufficient to provide a full assessment of in-service training. Other steps should be taken<sup>37</sup>.

Schollaert e.a. (1992) applied the Delphi method in questioning teachers, school heads, pedagogical trainers, and trainers from the centres (N=45). Although the sample is small, the study gives some interesting warnings of weak spots in the programme. We give some of them: 1) there is lack of information for all parties; 2) the task of the regional centres is not sufficiently known; 3) the supply of training should follow the demand of teachers or schools, but should also take some new initiatives; 4) in-service training is so vital for the teacher that it should be part of the job description; schools should look for replacements in order to send teachers for training during school time; 5) it is not the academic training of a trainer which is important, but his/her competence; 6) institutions for the training of teachers do not receive credit as institutions for in-service training; 7) in-service training should be linked with the school structure and class experience; and 8) the success of in-service training is dependent on the interest of the school head.

In spite of all these limitations, in-service training might be an important educational resource for which a school has to be concerned. The legislature has currently created more opportunities than existed ten years ago. Moreover, school heads self can decide in collaboration with the LSC or the participation council and the works council, what part of the overall number of periods will be used for in-service training. Our fieldwork will provide the answer to this question.

<sup>37</sup> In applying multi-level analysis, we sought to find out, by testing Dutch and maths as assessing pupils' well being, whether there was any relationship between in-service training and results. Because of the special distribution of the data we could not come to a decision.

The research of Vandenberghe e.a. (1992) is also interesting concerning the influence of training in 26 primary schools on new approaches seeking to teach pupils to listen to texts. They conclude that the influence of the training is rather weak, but traceable. We do not elaborate on this project because it is about primary education.

## 3.9. Vlaamse Onderwijsraad (VLOR)

By the Education Act II of July 31st 1990 the 'Vlaamse Onderwijsraad' (VLOR or Flemish Education Council) was founded by the legislature, and officially inaugurated on March 26th 1991 (VLOR, 1992). This council is not of immediate significance for local education resource management, but indirectly its influence might become increasingly visible, since education policy makers have to ask advice from the VLOR. Bills<sup>38</sup> and policy documents concerning education should be presented to the VLOR for advice. The VLOR has also the right to take the initiative in advising education policy makers. Besides advice, the VLOR may also sponsor research to support the advice, and it is a place for deliberation concerning education among representatives of organizing authorities, staff, parents, representatives of socio-economic and socio-cultural associations, and experts. Problems of a general educational nature (e.g. failed candidates, teacher training) are the domain of the General Council; problems linked with special fields (e.g. secondary education, vocational education) are the prerogative of special committees founded by the VLOR.

The VLOR can rely on a staff of experts to prepare the work in the General Council and committees. This independent body facilitates an expression of democratic deliberation for all participants in the educational process. To guarantee this independence it has its own budget and it is no part of the Ministry of Education.

As such, the VLOR does not provide educational resources to the schools, but it is an important institution for deliberation and advice that may indirectly influence the educational resources that a school can rely on. For that reason we give the VLOR a place in this description of recent educational innovations.

<sup>38</sup> Bills of budgets are not included.

## § 4. Conclusion

Together with the development of Belgium as a federal state, education policy in Flanders may be characterized by a growing decentralisation, devolution, and deregulation. These are the intentions of the policy makers, and various measures confirm this. Nevertheless, it is often questioned by non-state education policy-makers whether deregulation is always attained, and whether devolution is an improvement in school policy if the means are inadequate. Our fieldwork will give some information about this.

This chapter has also presented the general educational structure of Flanders, more particularly of secondary education. It is important to remember that all secondary schools - the kind of schools of our fieldwork - are in a process of change to a unified structure, which means that at present some schools organize education according to three types: type I, type II and the unified structure. This is a challenge. In 1995 all schools are to be organized in one unified pattern.

Finally we have presented an overview of the most significant recent changes in education policy which have created new possibilities of promoting the effectiveness of schooling, enforcing new patterns of decision making in schools, and expanding the educational resources. These are the main topics: 1) the new participatory structure; 2) the financial management of the schools; 3) the unified structure of secondary education; 4) the new inspectorate; 5) the pedagogic counselling services; 6) the Education Development Service; 7) multi-cultural education; and 8) in-service training. The VLOR was described as an important democratic instrument influencing the general educational policy.

## Chapter 2. Research on school policy

Traditionally Belgium had a very centralized school system. The non-state networks were free to define the content of the curriculum, but this curriculum had to be approved by the Minister of Education in order to protect the minimum standard that all schools should attain. This principle was not alone in contributing to centralization: the umbrella organizations of the subsidized networks also promoted a centralized system, but less in the subsidized official network (local authorities) than in the Catholic network. This centralization had as a consequence that for many years local school policy was not a subject of research. There was little impetus to take local school policy as a field of research because the limits of the headmasters were so narrow that they could rarely take any initiative. Moreover, these narrow margins were often invaded by the political decisions of national policy-makers at very short notice just before the start of the school year. Schools could not plan in the long term.

Together with the federalization of Belgium, decentralization, devolution and deregulation became important issues in educational policy. This development drew the attention of policy-makers and researchers to school policy in secondary schools<sup>1</sup>. Since 1987, on behalf of the Foundation for Collective Fundamental Research, five projects on school policy<sup>2</sup>, and several other

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<sup>1</sup> School policy was also investigated in primary schools, more particularly in relation to school innovation programmes (see Vandenberghe, e.a.: 1992; Staessens, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> - 1987-1989 'Mogelijkheden en grenzen van lokaal schoolbeleid' (Directors: J.C. Verhoeven, W. Wielemans, E. Raeymaekers).

- 1990-1992 'Personeelsbeleid in het secundair onderwijs' (Directors: E. Henderickx, P. Van der Hallen).

- 1990-1992 'Deregulering: noden en mogelijkheden voor het beheer van onderwijsinstellingen' (Director: M. Buelens)

- 1990-1992 'Organisatiecultuur van scholen: onderzoek naar de wenselijkheid en mogelijkheid tot een beleid ter optimalisering van de organisatiecultuur van secundaire scholen' (Directors: P. Mahieu, E. Maurice)

- 1989-1992 'Schoolmanagement in functie van kwaliteitsverbetering van het onderwijs' (Directors: J.C. Verhoeven, R. Vandenberghe, J. Van Damme).

surveys that might have importance for some aspects of school policy<sup>3</sup>, have been launched.

The nature of the projects differs: two projects work with qualitative data (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989; Buelens, Devos, 1992; partly also Mahieu e.a., 1992)), six have quantified the data (Mahieu, 1989; Lens & Schops, 1991; Van Hooreweghe, 1991; Van Hooreweghe e.a. 1992; Verhoeven e.a., 1992; Mahieu e.a. 1992). The first two projects paid attention to the process of school policy, whereas the latter produced more a snapshot.

The relation between school policy and the effectiveness of schooling was the subject of investigation in three projects but what was conceived as the effectiveness of schooling was differently conceptualized in the different projects. Mahieu (1989) and Van Hooreweghe (1992) studied effectiveness of schooling in terms of the perception by heads and teachers. Verhoeven e.a. (1992) operationalized effectiveness of schooling in terms of the results of tests of pupils for Dutch and Math, and tests of the well-being of pupils, measured both at the beginning and at the end of the school year. Consequently it is not always easy to compare the conclusions of the projects.

Since school policy is no longer seen as the responsibility of the head alone, but of all participants in education, it is interesting to know to what extent teachers want to participate in decision-making about school policy. In § 1 we will answer this question. The next paragraph will give a synthesis of the process of decision-making in the school in relation to school policy. Then follows an analysis of the domains of school policy. The final paragraph will discuss the link between school policy and the effectiveness of schooling.

<sup>3</sup> See Lens & Schops (1991) and Van Hooreweghe (1991). Mahieu (1989) is also very central to this topic.

## § 1. Teachers and participation

For a long time it was widely accepted that teachers were supposed to teach and heads were supposed to direct. But the general trend of democratization made teachers more sensitive to participation in school policy. In contrast to the situation some 20 or 30 years ago, teachers are now probably more interested to participate in school policy. It should be stressed that the data we present in this chapter do not cover the most recent change of participatory decision-making as is described in Chapter 1. First, we report the level of participation of teachers in school policy in general; second, the evaluation of the participatory councils; and third, the position of the unions in this respect.

### 1.1. Teacher participation: facts and expectations

In 1977, Verhoeven (1982: 206) asked a sample (N=396) of teachers in 70 schools how influential they were in relation to decision making on fourteen domains of school policy, and what kind of participation in decision-making they preferred to have for each of the domains. On a scale of 0 to 25, 65% of the teachers had less than a score of 13. This shows that heads were still the most powerful decision-makers. In this respect it is also important to see that teachers were not equally interested in all domains of decision-making. Obviously most teachers preferred to take decisions about the didactic equipment, the organization of extra school activities, the organizations of the class council, the choice of text-books, and grading criteria. These are typical pedagogical domains. This was not the case for domains of organizational management<sup>4</sup>, e.g., the election of the head, appointment and dismissal of teachers. Teachers were not interested to participate in decision-making in respect to these issues. We also looked at the discrepancy between the level of actual participation in

<sup>4</sup> We differentiate between educational policy (all measures taken in relation to educational action) and organizational management (e.g., election of the head, appointment and dismissal of teachers, etc.).

decision-making and the level of expected participation of the teachers. When these discrepancies were high, we spoke of deprived teachers. We calculated that about 40% of the teachers were in that situation. This was a clear sign that teachers wanted to participate more in school policy.

Ten years later, in 1987, Mahieu (1989) did a survey in eight schools among 478 staff members, and asked similar questions. His data confirm the statement that teachers are most involved in educational policy. He came to the same conclusions as far as deprivation is concerned: most of the teachers expect to participate more in the decision-making than they are allowed to do. But Mahieu (1989: 51) called 91% of the teachers deprived. Contrary to Verhoeven (1982) he stated that the deprivation of the teachers was higher in the domains of organizational management than in those of a pedagogic nature.

Some years later, in a survey of 1,078 teachers in twenty-three schools the concern of teachers about participation in educational policy was again confirmed (Verhoeven e.a.1992: 56-63). The average score (range 0-2) in nine domains of organizational management in which teachers wished to participate was .69, while the average score for teachers wishing to participate in educational decision-making was 1.14. Heads assessed that teachers attained .91 for participation in organizational management and an average of 1.38 for participation in educational policy. Heads seemed to have a more optimistic picture about teacher participation than had teachers.

The figures also show that teachers were still more interested in educational matters than in matters of organizational management. But there are differences depending on some structural characteristics of schools. In schools with a larger male staff teachers were more concerned about organizational policy than in other schools. The same held as far as educational policy was concerned. In schools with a majority of full-time staff, or a majority of tenured staff, teachers also wanted to be more concerned with educational policy.

For school policy it is important to know if teachers of a particular school want to be involved in school policy. The results show that attitudes are very diverse among schools. Three clusters can be recognized: in four out of twenty-three schools teachers strongly wished to be involved in school policy; in thirteen schools teachers approach the general average; and in six schools teachers were less interested in participation in school policy (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 161).

Although it is not easy to compare the results of different projects<sup>5</sup>, we wish to compare some of them. They may throw light on the development of the wish for participation. In 1977, about 25% (Verhoeven, 1982: 206) did not want to have a say in the timetable, in 1990 this figure had decreased to about 8% (Van Hooreweghe, 1991: 85). In 1977, the purchase of didactic equipment was not seen as their domain by 16% of teachers, in 1990 the figure was 7%. On the other hand having a say in the appointment of colleagues was refused by the majority of the teachers: 74% in 1977 and 78% in 1990. Teachers seem to want more participation than ten years ago, but their expectations are not the same for each area of decision-making.

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<sup>5</sup> Questions are different.



Table 2.1. Teachers' expectations concerning the influence on educational and organizational management in % (Van Hooreweghe, 1991: 85)

	want more influence	sufficient influence	prefers no concern
Timetable	46.5	45.7	7.8
Choice of classes	42.7	47.0	10.4
Allocation of extra class activities	38.0	37.1	24.9
Policy concerning additional tasks	37.7	44.4	17.9
Purchase of didactic equipment	36.5	56.3	7.3
Choice of classroom	33.2	50.8	16.0
Appointment of co-ordinator, head, etc.	28.9	10.2	60.9
Transfer of pupils at the end of school year	15.7	82.3	2.0
Appointment of teachers	13.7	8.0	78.4

Participation is not only important for school policy, but it touches also the level of job satisfaction of teachers. Satisfied teachers experience participation as stimulating, while dissatisfied teachers deny the stimulating influence of participation (Lens & Schops, 1991: 57). Yet the satisfaction of teachers is not only a question of participation, but also of appreciation by the head: the more teachers are appreciated by the head, the more they are satisfied in doing their job.

### 1.2. The evaluation of participatory councils

Many councils have been created to give teachers the opportunity to influence school policy. Seldom is the influence direct; teachers have the right to advise, very rarely to decide; heads have the right to follow the advice or to act differently. In Chapter 1 an overview was given of the old and the new councils. In 1990 we collected some data about the evaluation of these councils. These data (Verhoeven, e.a. 1992: 55) cover only the old advisory councils, not the new participation council in Catholic schools or the local school councils in the Community schools. The teachers and the heads were asked to evaluate the

operation of these councils on a five point scale and a comprehensive scale was constructed varying from 0 to 1. The average score of all teachers was .65, while that of the heads was .81.

We also asked respondents to assess to what extent they consider these councils to be necessary to protect the quality of education. On a scale of 0 to 1 the average score of the teachers was .78, and the average score of the heads .87. Heads seemed to have a more positive attitude towards the operation of the councils, and considered them more useful to protect the quality of education. Using cluster analysis it was found that 15 schools (N=23) could be called 'participation concerned', i.e. teachers were rather satisfied about the participation and were strongly convinced of the importance of the councils in stimulating educational quality. Four schools saw 'participation as salvation', i.e. the teachers were dissatisfied with the participation, but were sure that these councils were necessary to improve the educational quality. The rest of the schools (4) saw 'participation as a possibility', i.e. teachers were rather satisfied about the participation councils, but doubted whether this participation could improve educational quality (Verhoeven, e.a., 1992: 161).

This confirms what Mahieu (1989: 131) stated before in eight Catholic schools: the head's assessment of the operation of these councils was more positive for most of the councils, except those with a participation of the teachers' unions (TU), i.e. the works council and the health-and-safety council.

Table 2.2. Positive assessment of participatory councils by heads and teachers in Catholic schools (Mahieu, 1989: 131)

Councils	Heads <sup>6</sup>	Teachers <sup>7</sup>
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<sup>6</sup> The figures are the % of the respondents who have the opinion that this council or committee is working well.

<sup>7</sup> idem as note 6.

Organizing authority (Inrichtende macht)	67.5	44.3
Works council (Ondernemingsraad)	32.7	40.1
Health-and-safety council (Comité voor gezondheid en verfraaiing van de werkplaats)	34.9	40.7
Class council (klasseraad) <sup>8</sup>	72.7	59.3
Subject work group (vakwerkgroep) <sup>9</sup>	67.4	67.8
Staff meeting (Leraarsvergadering) <sup>10</sup>	78.8	71.0
Staff committee (Directieraad) <sup>11</sup>	85.7	30.0
Direction committee (Bestuurscommissie) <sup>12</sup>	34.0	18.1
Qualification committee (Kwalificatiecommissie) <sup>13</sup>	78.4	68.4
Admission council (Toelatingsraad) <sup>14</sup>	60.9	54.4

<sup>8</sup> This council is composed of the teachers of a particular class and the head (often replaced by the class director). This council discusses didactics, the grading of pupils, and the in-service training of the teachers. The class director is the teacher who has a special responsibility for that particular class.

<sup>9</sup> This group brings teachers of the same subject together to discuss the content and didactics of a subject. Schools are free to organize these groups.

<sup>10</sup> All teachers and the other staff belong to this meeting. Schools are free to organize this meeting. They discuss issues general to the school. Depending on the school, this meeting is often only a place for the head to inform the teachers. Whether teachers consider that this council functions well, depends on what they expect from it.

<sup>11</sup> The school is free to organize this council. Many schools have this council. A very common representation pattern is: head, deputy head, director of the secretariat, co-ordinators, and representatives of the teachers. A co-ordinator is a teacher who is partly working as a teacher and partly as the organizer of common pedagogical activities of a particular grade or of the total school.

<sup>12</sup> This committee is organized by law in technical schools. The members are representatives of economical organizations and the head. In many schools it is more of a formal body. According to the rules, this committee might give advice on school regulations, and the organization of new fields of training.

<sup>13</sup> By law this council has to be organized in all technical schools. It grants the diplomas at the end of the training of the pupils. Besides the head and a teacher, members of economical organizations are members of this council. Its character is more formal than substantial.

<sup>14</sup> This council is obligatory in Type I schools and takes decisions on the admission of pupils to a particular field of study. Its members are the head and some teachers. Mahieu (1989: 130) found this council in only two of the eight schools of the sample.

It should be stressed that the figures of table 2.2 are influenced by the visibility of the councils to the teachers. Heads have a better insight into the operation of these councils, and this produces a more positive assessment of most of them. Another point to be mentioned is that not all schools have these councils; only three councils (organizing authority, class council, and staff council) are present in the eight schools. The low opinion of the teachers of the organizing authority is influenced by the few contacts teachers have with this authority. The rather low figure of the heads concerning the organizing authority is an indicator of the opposition between heads and organizing authorities, and the fact that heads often have to defend decisions refused by the teachers.

The low appreciation of the works council by both teachers and heads is a consequence of the kind of membership of these councils. Half the members represent the TU (teacher unions), half the employer. Heads consider this council to interfere in matters already discussed in other councils, and most of them they call unnecessary. Teachers who are union members appreciate this council more highly than do non-members. The health-and-safety councils (also with a representation of the unions) receive a little more recognition, but only a minority of the teachers give them a positive assessment.

Class councils are considered very important instruments for educational improvement by both teachers and heads. This is also the case for subject work groups, but only four of eight schools organize these groups.

The staff council is highly appreciated by both teachers and heads. All other councils are very differently assessed by teachers and heads. The reason of this discrepancy is probably that few teachers are involved in these councils, whereas all of the heads are.

Looking at the responsibilities of all these councils it is obvious that while they may improve school-based management, they may also hinder it as well. The reason for this is that, first, the responsibilities of these councils overlap. Second, although teachers participate in most of them (except the organizing authority), most of these councils have not the legal right to take final decisions; the decision-making power remains in the hands of the heads and of the organizing authorities. Nevertheless, these councils very often suggest that teachers can really participate in the decision-making, but it remains up to the head to take their advice into account.

The domains of the final decision-making of school policy, in which teachers can really participate are rather limited, as is shown in table 2.3. This table is the result of fieldwork in twelve schools, where all kinds of school members involved in school policy were interviewed about the most important domains of school policy (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 318).

Tabel 2.3. Decision-makers and domains of decision-making<sup>15</sup>

Decision-maker	Organizational management			Pedagogical-organizational		Pedagogical-didactic	
	Staff	Finance	Recruitment	Rationalization, programming <sup>16</sup>	Stock of periods	class council	Evaluation of pupils
Head	C,I,L	A,B,C D,J,L	C	B,C	C,E,G		
Head and organizing authority	E,F,G, H,K	E,F,G I,K	F,I	E,F,G,H I,J,K,L			
Head and co-ordinators			G,H		H,I		
Head, co-ordinator, and teachers (consultation) <sup>17</sup>			E,F	E,F,G,H I,J,K,L	F,J,L	E,F, G, H,I,J, K,L	
Head and teachers (consultation)			A,B,D I,J,K,L	A,D	D,K	A,B, C, D	
Head and teachers	J				A,B		A,B,C,D E,F,G,H I,J,K,L

The distribution of the letters over the cells in the table confirms the very central position of the head in school policy. Yet although legally the head has the authority to take decisions, in practice there is a lot of co-operation with other members of the school.

Teachers, or better their representatives, participate more than before in decision-making, but their position does not equal that of the head's. They

<sup>15</sup> Schools are represented by letters in the table.

<sup>16</sup> **Rationalization** is a measure taken by an organizing authority to phase out or merge schools having too few pupils to enable a wide range of disciplines to be offered. Moreover, schools thought to be too big may split up horizontally (by grade) or vertically (by form of education).

**Programming** covers the creation of school establishments and the organization of new grades, options and sections.

<sup>17</sup> Teachers are consulted concerning these domains. Although their advice is not mandatory, heads take account of it when they take decisions.

advise and this advice is taken seriously by the head. In many schools teachers seem to have real influence on decision-making. The issues in most of the schools are of a pedagogical nature (rationalization and programming, the overall number of periods per teacher, and the class council), except one, the recruitment of pupils. In nine of the twelve schools, teacher representatives are important participants in decision-making. There is one area where teachers together with the head have a very central position: the evaluation of pupils. This is a very important part of the means to improve education.

Some special remarks should be made in relation to staff management. In three schools this is the monopoly of the head, in five others, heads share the responsibility with the organizing authorities. In only one school teacher representatives decide together with the head. By law, recruitment or dismissal of staff is the responsibility of the organizing authority (the employer), but he often shares this responsibility with the head or delegates it to the head. No heads of Community schools (A, B, D) but one (C) is mentioned in relation to staff policy, because this used to be the responsibility of the Minister of Education<sup>18</sup>. The other areas of interference by the organizing authorities are finance, rationalization and programming.

The position of the co-ordinator is not to be forgotten. In most of the Catholic schools co-ordinators play a role in the decision-making about rationalization and programming, and about the class council. In this respect no Community schools are mentioned in the scheme, because Community schools did not have co-ordinators.

<sup>18</sup> Since the ARGO is now the organizing authority of the Community schools, this is no longer the case (see Chapter 1 and later).

### 1.3. Teacher unions and participation in school policy

The main goal of trade unions is traditionally to protect the rights of the employees in industry, administration and services, and to promote democracy on the work floor. Without any doubt trade unions have had a tremendous impact on the position of employees in Belgium and we have enough reason to contend that this is the same for the teacher unions (TU) as well. Very little research is conducted on the efficacy of the TU in Belgium, but the available studies confirm the impact of the unions on the national policy in relation to the position of teachers. Boelen (1984) shows that national teacher unions developed a remarkable policy to attain their aims in relation to four domains: 1) the raising of salaries of primary school and infant school teachers; 2) the abolition of very small primary schools; 3) the realisation of the five-day school week; and 4) the law concerning the personnel of the free schools. This study has shown that the efficacy of the TUs was positively influenced by the number of their members, the managerial capacities of their leaders, the democratic structure of the TUs, the relations with the government, the economic situation, the political parties represented in the government<sup>19</sup>, and the attitude of pressure groups towards the issues for which the TUs are fighting<sup>20</sup>.

All these issues have some meaning for the professional position of teachers. The question is whether TUs are also interested in issues of a more general nature, e.g. the national education policy. Geerens (1988) looked at the action of TUs in relation to governmental proposals to extend full-time compulsory education from the age of fourteen to sixteen, and part-time education up to eighteen. He contends that the TUs were interested in this educational policy, but that it had no priority. A union leader said: "We are not

<sup>19</sup>Boelen (1984) shows that the government is more reluctant to follow the TUs when the liberal party is part of the ruling coalition.

<sup>20</sup>If the standpoint of the TUs is supported by the pressure group, the policy of the TUs has more success.

a pedagogical club". Union leaders were interested in the first place because this proposal would create more jobs in the schools, and educational motives came second. On the other hand, we have to admit that TUs were not totally indifferent to educational matters, because they openly and positively supported the development of a programme for pupils who had to go part-time to schools until the age of eighteen. Yet this study shows that the number of members in the TUs had no particular influence on the efficacy of their policy. Nevertheless, in this context it is interesting to note that in spite of the democratic structure of the TUs, the participation of their members in the meetings preparing this policy was low. In most of the meetings the same small group of members was present.

These two studies show that the national TUs are important in defending the professional rights of their members, and in educational matters as well. Nevertheless, it is obvious that it is easier to mobilize the TU members if the issue is linked to the professional position of teachers. Mobilization of union members is more difficult when TUs fight for educational issues in which the national leaders are not immediately interested unless this policy can improve the professional position of their members. This suggests the hypothesis that local TUs are interested in school administration when the professional position of the members is at stake, and less so if school administration is focused on educational administration.

To understand the participation of TUs in school administration it is important to know that teachers in Belgium are mainly organized in three trade unions: a Christian-Democratic (ACV), a Social-Democratic (ABVV), and a Liberal union (ACLVB). The first and the second are the largest unions. Correct figures of the members are not available. De Vries (1986: 308-328) mentions for Flanders about 73,000 members of the Christian-Democratic TU, of which about 39,000 belong to the union of the elementary school teachers, 25,000 members of the Social-Democratic TU, but no figures for the Liberal

teachers' unions. However, it is known that the last union is much smaller than the others. What proportion of teachers belong to a union is hard to say because of the lack of reliable and specific figures.

Another indicator of the success of a union may be found in results of the elections for the representatives to works councils and health-and-safety councils. During the last elections (1991) for the works councils ("Ondernemingsraad") in the free schools the results were: of 92,401 voters 18.88% voted for the Social-Democratic TU, 71.15% for the Christian-Democratic and 6.76% for the Liberal TU. 113,918 voters elected the members of the health-and-safety councils ("Comité voor veiligheid, gezondheid en verfraaiing van de werkplaatsen"): 19.71% of them voted for a Social-Democratic delegate, 73.76% for a Christian-Democratic and 6.53% for a Liberal delegate (Ministerie van Tewerkstelling en Arbeid, 1991: 68,102)<sup>21</sup>.

The success of the Christian-Democratic TU is strongly influenced by the fact that most pupils in Belgium attend Catholic schools. In these schools the representation of teachers is mainly, if not exclusively, in the hands of Christian-Democratic TUs. Social-Democratic and Liberal TU have more influence in state, provincial and local authority schools.

For an understanding of the TU policy it is important to take a look at the key aims of the TUs. All TUs stress the promotion of the material, moral and occupational interests of their members in the first place. The Christian-Democratic TU also seeks to influence the pedagogical evolution and the professional training of the members. The Social-Democratic TU intends to promote the Community schools. The Liberal TU does not mention anything other than the material interests of their members (Boelen, 1984: 26, 34; NSKO,

<sup>21</sup> Since in the majority of the free schools only the Christian-Democratic (ACV) TU's are represented, elections are not really organized. The TU presents a list of candidates equal to the number of the available seats, and in such cases, no elections are needed.

1991: 43). Again, this leads to the hypothesis that TUs are interested only as far as the professional position of the members is concerned.

Not much information is available on the motivation for becoming a member of a TU. A survey among members of a part of the Christian-Democratic TU in 1983 showed that the majority of the members explained their membership in these ways: the individual service provided by the union, solidarity with others, tradition, and collective advantages. Asked about the main tasks of the TU they stressed in order of priority: 1) protecting collective interests; 2) providing useful information to the members; 3) solving individual problems; 4) improving the quality of education; 5) training school representatives; 6) extra advantages for the members; and 7) organizing action to put pressure on policy makers (Geerens, 1988: 22).

To assess the influence of TUs for school policy the proportion of teachers who are TU members should be considered. This is an important indicator, although not the only one, as will be shown later. No overall description of membership is available. On the base of the information of the heads in 167 official subsidized and Catholic schools it is calculated that, in 68% of the schools, membership of TUs is less than 41% of the staff. In only 10% of the schools is membership between 61 and 80%, and 2% of the schools have a higher union rate. In 7% of the schools, TUs had no union representatives, 25% of the schools had one, 50% had two, and the other schools had three or more (Van Hooreweghe e.a., 1992: 129 -130).

Union membership increases in schools when the head supports the union and when the number of male teachers in the school increases. But there was no relationship whatsoever between union participation in the school and the kind of education (general, technical or vocational), the gender or the seniority of the head, and the size of the school.

With regard to the relation between unions and heads, on the basis of an index of five items describing the attitude of the head towards the TUs, Van Hooreweghe e.a. (1992: 131-132) conclude, that the average attitude is rather positive (3.42 on 5). This is an important figure. But taking into account that school policy is something going on in a particular school it should be stressed that some heads have very outspoken attitudes, and despise the TUs. E.g., a quarter of the heads stress that they want to have as little contact with the TUs as possible, and 19% see TUs as a necessary evil. It is clear that the action of TUs in schools of the last type will not be easy.

This strained relationship between heads and TUs is demonstrated by Verhoeven (1992). Field work in twelve schools, where heads, union representatives and other school members were interviewed, made obvious the fact that a number of union representatives did not believe in fair treatment of the unions by the head. In three schools the contacts with the head were very bad, and the heads admitted that they applied different strategies to diminish the influence of the unions. On the other hand, the representatives also described all kind of strategies to reduce the authority of the heads. Nevertheless, it may not be ignored that in many schools cooperation between heads and unions is good, or that they tolerate each other. The reasons for this positive cooperation may differ. It is often the result of a decision-making structure where teachers have the feeling of being taken seriously by the head or where teachers are not interested in decision-making participation in the school.

To what extent this relationship is influenced by the action of the unions in councils where unions have a statutory position (e.g., works council, health-and-safety council) is not clear. It has been shown that heads are not always convinced that discussions in the works council improve school management. This might influence the relations between unions and heads. But the opposite, i.e. bad relations influencing relations in these statutory councils, might also be true.

In contrast to the expectation that teachers with a high appreciation of the unions' actions also have a high job satisfaction, Lens and Schops (1991: 51) found that the action of the unions in schools is much more a hindrance for job satisfaction than a help.

## § 2. Decision-making in schools

Recently interest in school culture has very much increased; school values and norms have come to the fore. This is a result of the recognition that schools differ. Contingency theory had pushed researchers into that direction. Decision-making in relation to school policy is an important part of school culture, and it is often claimed that each school has developed its own pattern. However, there are similarities among schools, and these have to be described. None of the projects that we present, has a representative sample of the decision-making culture of secondary schools in Flanders, yet the six projects together give a fair picture of it.

We make a difference between two types of research: the qualitative and the quantitative approach. Here two projects are interesting. The first relies on in-depth interviewing of some key persons (head, deputy, teachers, union representative, etc.) involved in school policy in twelve schools (four Community and eight Catholic schools) and the analysis of documents (Devos, Vandenberghe & Verhoeven, 1989). The same technique of research was used in the second project, except that only the heads of twenty-six schools were interviewed (seventeen Catholic schools, six Community, and four city schools) (Buellens & Devos, 1992).

In the first project, four types of school policy were detected. First, the **bureaucratic policy**. This policy may be typified as a kind of routine by the heads. Heads, without the participation of the teachers, took decisions when

they were obliged to do so by circumstances. They had no planning in the long run. Two schools represented this type.

Two other schools belonged to a second type: the **organization focused policy**. In these schools the policy makers had clear policy options concerning the management of finance, staff, recruitment of pupils, and rationalization and programming. This policy was considered to be the domain of the head, and only very rarely was the opinion of teachers invited.

The third type is called the **traditional policy**. Here (only one school out of twelve) school policy relied on tradition, certainly as far as pedagogical policy was concerned. This school did not expect school innovation; these schools are subject oriented. Policy was the domain of the head inspired by the customs of the school, although teachers were asked for their opinions in relation to the pedagogical side of the policy.

The name of the last type is the **pupil-focused policy**. In this category we could place five schools. These schools had a general mission and school policy was formulated in relation to that mission. These schools focused explicitly on the pupils and made room for teacher participation in decision-making, mostly concerning pedagogical issues. However, as in most other schools, also in these schools teachers were not involved in decision-making about finances and staff policy.

Two schools could not be placed in this typology. They approached a pupil-focused policy, but differed in some respects too much from the ideal type.

The second project found three types among the twenty-seven schools investigated, which were rather close to the former typology (Buelens & Devos, 1992: 56-58). The first type, **pupil-focused policy**, was found in twelve schools. In these schools, heads developed a real school policy on the basis of



the inspiration provided by the general mission of the school. This mission puts pupils at the centre of the action. The participation of teachers was also important in school policy. The heads were really interested in educational innovation and in decentralization and deregulation as provided by the government.

Nine schools got the label '**subject-focused policy**'. This policy was very similar to the already mentioned organization-focused type. The head developed a policy which was mainly concerned with staff management, finance and equipment management, the image of the school and the kind of education it offered. However, this project offered some further specification of the policy. These schools were mainly technical schools, and they were more interested than the others in the promotion of a particular subject. The heads of these schools did not take the opportunity to develop a real local school policy as fully as heads of the former type. They were less interested in the opinion of pupils than was the case in the pupil-focused schools. Teachers participated in decision-making, had a reasonable level of cooperation, but confined their behaviour to what was prescribed.

The third type is found in six schools. These schools were considered to be **rule-focused** and they had many characteristics in common with what was called the bureaucratic type in the first project. The initiative of the head was very limited: s/he did what was prescribed by the central regulations. These schools had no mission or the mission was exclusively connected with material management. Teachers were not supposed to participate in school policy, and their collaboration was rather weak. These schools were not interested in educational innovation.

Although the majority of the schools in the two projects was pupil-focused, we have no evidence that the majority of the schools in Flanders is of that type. The sampling procedure of the schools (selection of networks, and

further selection within the networks) is not a sufficient guarantee for such a conclusion. However, the next group of projects faced this problem, although one of them relied on 187 questionnaires mailed to heads.

Three studies refer to the same typology, borrowed from Van der Krogt (1985), but use different criteria to come to a conclusion. This gives the following picture:

Table 2.4. Number and type of schools in three projects

Authors	Number and type of schools			type of data
	Segmental schools	Line and staff	Collaborative	
Mahieu, 1989	2	3	2	mailed questionnaire to heads and 478 staff of 8 Catholic schools <sup>22</sup>
Mahieu e.a., 1991	4	4	4	mailed questionnaire to 1,387 teachers in 29 Catholic schools <sup>23</sup>
Van Hooreweghe e.a., 1992	Segmental		Non-segmental	mailed questionnaire to the heads of 168 Catholic schools, and 15 official subsidized schools
	19	44,60,20	38	

It would have been fine to find the same categories in the three projects. For technical reasons this standpoint could not be maintained by Van Hooreweghe e.a. (1992: 139-152). Based on the content of the typologies, we placed the segmental schools under the same heading as in the other projects. The collaborative type is here replaced by the non-segmental type to which it is very close. The majority of the schools has a position between the two extreme types (three figures are presented in table 2.4, each giving a number of schools with another intensity of the segmental characteristic). This does not mean that

<sup>22</sup> Only seven schools got a place in the typology.

<sup>23</sup> Only schools with a clear position in the three clusters are listed in the table.

they have a line and staff structure; the correct interpretation is to put them somewhere between the two extreme categories.

Another warning should be given. The typifications are constructed on the base of data collected among the heads and the teachers. As mentioned before, it is not certain that both parties take the same stance. There is not only the problem of respondents with a very different position in relation to decision-making in schools, but the selection of the networks is also a problem in giving an overall picture of decision-making in schools. It is important that in none of the three projects are Community schools included. Since we know that this network has one organizing authority for all schools, albeit with some decentralization, in future research more attention should be paid to this network.

How could these schools be typified? We confine ourselves to the description by Mahieu e.a. (1991: 20-21). In the **segmental type**, the members of the organization take a very individualized standpoint and defend a high level of professional autonomy for the teachers. In the **line-and-staff schools**, heads have a very technical-administrative conception of their job. The distance between themselves and the teachers is rather wide and they approach teachers by using the organizational channels, e.g. subject work groups and class councils. The **collaborative schools** are characterized by a high estimation of the head and good cooperation among teachers and head.

### § 3. Domains of school policy

The general structure of decision-making in the schools, though interesting in giving an idea of the general pattern of school policy, is not specific enough to form an opinion about the educational resource management in Flanders. For that reason we will analyse successively the following school

policy domains: 1) personnel management; 2) financial and equipment management; 3) curriculum management; 4) rationalization and programming; 5) the overall number of periods per teacher; 6) provisions of rules and pedagogic climate; and 7) recruitment of pupils.

### 3.1. Personnel management

In chapter 1 it became clear that a distinction should be made among the networks as far as personnel management is concerned. In **Community schools**, the recruitment, the appointment, and the dismissal of teachers was until the establishment of the ARGO the responsibility of the Minister of Education. Heads had an obligation to evaluate teachers. This principle changed a few years ago. The local school council may recruit teachers, the head, as well as the central PBD of the network, is supposed to evaluate them, but it is up to the Central Council of the ARGO to appoint and dismiss teachers and other personnel.

In the **two other networks** recruitment, appointment, evaluation, and dismissal of teachers is the responsibility of the organizing authority. In practice, the head in (most of the) Catholic schools is more involved in the decision-making which concerns recruitment and appointment of teachers than the official regulations suggest (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 96, see also Van Assche, 1992: 237). This might lead to the opinion that the possibility of coming to an independent personnel policy in the subsidized networks might be without problems. Schools are facing problems that make an independent policy hard to realize, e.g. for many years the number of pupils was decreasing (now it has stabilized), and the government introduced a policy of austerity. Besides these limitations, heads are confronted with a redeployment policy, a too strict system of national rules about the capacities of teachers for heads to follow, and a fixed salary system based on seniority. These factors have caused two heads out of twenty-seven to think that there is not enough room to develop

serious local personnel management (Buelens, Devos, 1992: 68). This trend is confirmed, although less outspoken, by the survey of Van Hooreweghe e.a. (1992: 59<sup>24</sup>): 72% of the heads are convinced that it is very difficult to guide teachers, yet 54% believe that it is possible to create a local personnel policy (see also Van Assche, 1992: 239).

An important moment for personnel management is the **recruitment of new teachers**. The structural constraints on the Community schools are such that the autonomy of the heads is assessed to be very low. In Catholic schools teachers attain an average score of .90 on 1 for autonomy of the heads in recruiting teachers. The criteria of the heads in recruiting and appointing teachers are, according to the teachers, for .3 on 1 seen as being linked to the personality of the teacher, and for .63 on 1 as connected with school-based criteria. Heads take almost the same standpoint. In this respect the opinion of the principals is not different. When the teachers and the heads were asked what kinds of teachers' observation heads were applying, they arrived at a rather different judgement. Teachers judged the assessment activities of the heads to be on the level of 1.84 on 3, while heads came for themselves to 2.13 (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 46-47). Heads see themselves as more active than do teachers.

The **redeployment policy** of the government is one of the factors of interference in local personnel management. In both subsidized networks, 68% of the heads are opposed to this policy. This number goes up to 75%, if response is confined solely to those heads who last year faced the redeployment policy, is taken into account (Van Hooreweghe e.a., 1992: 76 e.a., see also Van Assche, 1992: 237).

<sup>24</sup> This project covers only the subsidized networks.

Redeployment is felt as a straitjacket by most of the heads. Tenureship is another limitation: 79% of the heads expect this to be changed. Only a minority wants it to be abolished (Van Hooreweghe e.a. 1992: 178). The main reason for this attitude is the occasional experience of heads that some teachers do not fit the job. And experience has proved that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to dismiss teachers (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 111). Heads want to change this in order to get rid of teachers who no longer really "perform satisfactorily".

A **personal approach to the teachers** by the heads is rather unusual. There are of course many other opportunities to stimulate teachers, but a more personal approach in a once a year conversation about the job between head and teacher is reported by only one third of the heads (Van Hooreweghe e.a., 1992: 179).

In the Belgian system, heads cannot stimulate teachers by promising them a better **salary** for a better job. Yet 39% of the heads hope that they will have the opportunity in the future to determine the salary in proportion to the efficacy of the work of the teachers; 52% reject this system<sup>25</sup>. Most of the heads, three quarters, believe that the salaries of teachers are too low to stimulate them (Van Hooreweghe e.a., 1992: 181-182). In order to bring teachers to a higher performance, 62% of the heads believe that teachers should have a career expectation which is not confined to teaching. A group of middle-level managers should be created, giving other opportunities to teachers.

An important instrument to improve the quality of teaching is **in-service training**. The problem is that 64% of the heads think that the supply of the in-service training programmes does not attain the standards they want (Van Hooreweghe e.a. 1992: 180). This means that still a lot of work is to be done to

<sup>25</sup> Buellens and Devos (1992: 72) found 16 out of 27 refusing this system.

improve in-service training. Moreover, not all teachers have enjoyed this training in the last two years: we calculated that the average level of participation of teachers during the last two years was .61 on 1. When we asked the teachers which part of the extra-training was applied in the classroom, the teachers were more enthusiastic about the external extra-training<sup>26</sup> (.59 on 1), than about the internal (.44 on 1). Teachers thought that they took more advantage of the external extra-training than of the extra-training organized in the school (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 72-76).

Teachers are not alone in needing extra-training: heads also need it. In a survey of 155 heads, Van Assche (1992: 203) states that 55% of the heads had no special training to do their job. It could be expected that there is a relationship between the training for headship and the age of the heads and the number of pupils in the school: the older the head the less s/he had participated in training programmes, and there is a slight indication (not statistically significant) that an increasing number of pupils in the school is accompanied by a higher participation of heads in training programmes.

### 3.2. Financial and equipment management

Financial and equipment management form an important part of school resource management, although heads do not accord them first place in their interest. The main complaint of heads is the lack of sufficient money to do what they want to do for school, and their inability to check carefully the construction work of new buildings (Van Assche, 1992: 240). 55% of the principals admit that they need some additional training about financial and equipment management (Van Hooreweghe, 1992: 107).

<sup>26</sup> All kind of extra-training offered outside the school of the teacher.

In chapter 1 it was said that most of the money for the schools is provided by the government according to certain rules, mainly determined by the number of pupils in the school. This was the guiding principle at the moment of the investigations we present in this chapter, and at the time of working. Since the establishment of the local school council in the community schools the financial and equipment management has come under the supervision of different people. The situation remained the same in Catholic schools. The establishment of the participation council in all Catholic schools had no immediate influence on the responsibilities for financial management. Later chapters will provide information about the current situation. Here we say a little more about the financial and the equipment management as it can be read in the budgets of 1985. In 1987 we conducted an investigation in twelve schools; nine of them gave us the opportunity of studying their accounts and budgets very carefully. Although we have to handle this information with care, the proportional distribution of the entries may teach us something about the importance of particular parts of the management.

First we take a look at the expenses of the schools (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 272-274):

Table 2.5. Expenses in % of the global amount per school (Community and Catholic) (1985)

Categories	Community schools				Catholic schools				
	A	B	C	D	F	G	H	J	L
Staff	1,5	0,0	12,8	4,3	15,8	12,7	16,6	18,2	18,1
Working expenses	58,5	50,4	42,0	57,1	19,5	21,7	23,8	31,6	57,8
- energy + water	53,7	45,8	35,7	49,5	6,2	7,1	6,3	12,6	19,1
- maintenance	4,0	2,7	5,0	6,1	4,9	5,4	9,2	13,0	13,6
- financial costs	0,8	0,5	0,7	0,9	0	0	0	4,8	7,5
- rent	0	0	0,6	0	8,4	9,3	8,3	0	6,5
- other	0	1,4	0	0,5	0	0	0	1,2	1,1
Transport	3,8	14,1	9,8	0,1	0,7	11,0	0,3	0,9	3,3
Office costs	3,4	3,1	4,0	6,3	7,0	6,9	5,8	9,4	5,3
Raw material	1,7	2,5	4,3	13,1	2,0	1,9	4,9	10,3	0,1
Pedagogical equipment	0,7	1,5	0,4	1,3	1,9	2,6	1,2	1,1	0,2
School related activities <sup>27</sup>	26,1	24,4	20,0	13,6	18,6	31,2	23,8	14,0	12,2
Purchase of durable material	4,4	3,9	6,8	4,0	23,9	12,0	23,6	14,2	1,8
Other	0	0	0	0,1	10,7	0	0	0,5	1,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

This table gives a picture of the way money is spent on particular tasks schools have to fulfil. It is obvious that schools have policy differences, although these are not very different. The differences between the Community schools and the Catholic schools are structural. The higher proportion of the expenses for staff in Catholic schools is a consequence of the principle that the salary of the maintenance personnel in the Catholic schools is not directly paid by the Department of Education; in Community schools this is the case for all appointed maintenance personnel. A similar remark should be made for working expenses. Community schools use a large proportion of the budget for energy and water, while Catholic schools need a lot of money to pay for the rent of buildings, which is not the case in the community schools. The costs of raw material are higher in technical and vocational schools (C, D, H, J), which might

<sup>27</sup> To this category belong e.g. the purchase of textbooks, paper and school utensils which may be sold to the pupils, the purchase of food and beverages to be sold to the pupils, school trips, etc.

be expected. That Catholic schools spent more on the purchase of durable materials is a consequence of their obligation to take care of the construction of their schools. In the community network the construction of the schools was the obligation of the Minister of Education<sup>28</sup>.

An analysis of the entries of the revenues of the same schools gives an interesting picture of the origin of financial resources (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 275 e.a.).

Table 2.6. Revenues of some Community and Catholic schools in % of total revenue of the school (1985)

Categories	Community schools				Catholic schools				
	A	B	C	D	F	G	H	J	L
Endowment/allowances	68,4	60,8	74,7	85,3	74,1	57,4	76,9	70,6	62,1
School fees <sup>29</sup>	0	0	0,3	0,1	0	0	0	0	0
Sale of products	0	1,2	2,3	3,5	0,5	0	2,5	2,5	0
Transport	3,9	11,7	9,0	1,0	0	10,6	0	0	1,8
School related activities	27,7	26,2	13,8	10,1	25,2	31,6	20,6	19,6	23,8
Savings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,4	8,8
Other	0	0	0	0,1	0,2	0,4	0	2,9	3,5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The largest part of the financial resources is provided by the government as endowments to the community schools and as allowances to the Catholic schools. The second largest resource comes from selling textbooks, paper, food, beverages, etc. (school related activities). Some schools find part of their resources in savings. This is the case only in Catholic schools (they save money to build). This was impossible for Community schools: they had to refund surplus of money to the Department. The reason for the differences among

<sup>28</sup> At the time of writing the construction of schools is the obligation of the ARGO.

<sup>29</sup> School fees are related to income from boarding schools.

schools is partly the result of structural differences between the networks, but also of structural differences among schools. Technical and vocational schools e.g. may produce and sell products and make some profit.

A comparison of endowments and allowances with the total expenses of schools shows that this proportion may vary between 60% and 110,5% in the ten schools of the investigation. Nine of the ten schools had a deficit, and had to organize all kind of activities in order to find the money they needed. The figures also show that community schools in general could rely on a larger part of financial support than free schools, and this has been for many years a point of political discussion.

The decision-making in matters of financial and equipment management was in the hands of the principals of both networks. The main decisions in Community schools were taken by the principals of the schools on the same campus (SABMO), except for school buildings. In Catholic schools, the organizing authorities were the responsible groups, but in most schools the heads took the initiative and had a great deal of freedom to make decisions. Teachers were not involved in this part of school policy.

In 1991, Buellens and Devos (1992: 76-78) asked the heads of twenty-seven schools (three networks) whether they had sufficient autonomy with regard to financial and equipment management. Most of the principals thought they had. One complaint could be heard in the Community schools: since the administration of the school buildings of the Community network was the responsibility of a central office, principals could not react as fast as they wished to solve emergencies such as leaking water pipes and water supply, problems with the roof, flooded play grounds, etc. They would have liked to have more financial means to deal with these kinds of problems. Another complaint was related to the basis on which finances were allocated to the schools: since this was related to the number of pupils in the school the principals of small schools

thought that they could not dispose of the necessary resources. The same opinion was uttered in technical and vocational schools.

### 3.3. Curriculum

The legislative power establishes the subjects to be taught, but the freedom of education principle grants all the Organizing Authorities the autonomy to determine the curriculum and the teaching methods. This principle is applied at all levels of education, but in practice the Organizing Authorities do not often set about developing the curriculum themselves. In Community education this task is carried out by Committees set up for this purpose and it is ARGO's *Centrale Raad* (Central Council) and the ARGO which approve the syllabuses. In the future, approval of the school working plan will have to be sought from the local school council. In Catholic education, curricula are prepared by the curriculum committees of the NSKO<sup>30</sup>. These curricula have to be approved by the Minister, who seeks advice from the committees in which the two subsidized networks are represented and from the general inspectorate, which controls the quality of the curriculum in order to guarantee a good standard of studies. Most of the subsidized schools (official and free) adopt these curricula, which implies renewed central control of the Catholic schools.

1969 saw the introduction of Reformed Secondary Education. In 1975 in the Flemish Community, and in 1978 in the French and German-language Communities, this reformed type of education was extended to the whole State education sector. In the subsidized education sector, the Organizing Authorities were offered a choice, and in consequence many schools in this network continued to provide the old type of education. In the French-language Community, schools which chose to continue with the traditional education are in the minority. Under the reformed system of education, schools also have

<sup>30</sup> The NSKO is the umbrella organization of the Catholic schools.

more freedom to organize education according to the needs of the schools while respecting the guidelines issued by the central authority. On September 1, 1989, the Flemish Community received a new overall framework for determining the structure of secondary education, which allowed the networks and the schools better opportunities to develop their own educational facilities. A complaint about the way in which this framework was introduced by the central authorities was being lodged with the State Council. But the framework was finally legitimized by the decree dated July 31, 1990. Central control has once again stolen a lead, even if the schools are allowed to add their individual touches to the curriculum.

Most of the principals (22 of 27), when they were asked in 1991 whether they preferred more freedom to choose for one of the three types of education, answered that they agreed about the obligation to organize education according to the principles of the unified educational structure. They offered the following reasons for this attitude: 1) that if schools had a different structure that might hinder smooth transition from one school to another, 2) that the choice of pupils and parents could be rendered more difficult, and 3) that it could create useless competition among the schools (Buelens, Devos, 1992: 63).

We find a very similar attitude towards prescribed time-tables<sup>31</sup> and curricula. The majority of the principals questioned in the project just mentioned (twenty of twenty-seven for the timetables and twenty-two for the curricula) approved what was prescribed, and used almost the same arguments to support this stance. Yet it should be remembered that five of twenty-six principals hoped to have their say in the timetables prepared by the umbrella organization. The majority of the heads in this investigation denied the necessity of relaxing the obligation to follow the national timetable and curriculum in order to adapt to local demands.

<sup>31</sup> The minimum timetable is prescribed by law (decree).



## 3.4. Rationalization and programming

The Law dated July 8, 1966 was designed to bring the expansion in the school networks to a temporary halt, but this piece of legislation has now been dropped, which means that the schools now have the possibility to undertaking rationalization and programming. School principals can follow their own policies as long as they remain in step with the guidelines laid down by the Minister and/or coordination bodies. Further, all the networks need the Minister's blessing to put their policies into practice (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 113-148).

Between 1980 and 1989, there was scarcely any rationalization but a great deal of programming in schools. Only two schools, in which the number of enrolments dropped significantly, opted for rationalization. In contrast, six schools out of twelve opted for programming. The following table sums up the situation.

Table 2.7. Breakdown of schools according to their rationalization and programming policies from 1980 to 1987

	Rationalization	Non-rationalization
Programming	OPTIMALIZATION POLICY	Schools C, D, E, H, J and K EXPANSION POLICY
Non-programming	Schools A and B RESTRICTION POLICY	Schools F, G, I and L MAINTENANCE POLICY

Source : Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven (1989 : 142).

Not one school conducted an optimalization policy. Four schools followed a maintenance policy. They tried to maintain their educational facilities, but did not propose any new disciplines. Six schools carried out an expansion policy. Nothing was phased out and new disciplines were introduced. Two schools programmed nothing at all and, what is more, decided to drop certain options.

Notwithstanding the requirements for education centres to reach a good understanding at regional levels, errors have been known to creep into some of the programming exercises. In other words, decentralization has not always led to a smooth organization of education.

Table 2.8 shows that in most education centres study courses or/and options are organized which are surplus to requirements. Many education centres have short-comings and major parts of their overall educational facilities are found wanting. On closer inspection of the facts, it appears that the programming is mainly conducted at school level. In spite of the strict rules imposed by the Ministry, schools still manage to conduct their own policies.

Table 2.8. Programming defects at the level of the local educational centre (1980-87)

Programming defects	State secondary local education centres				Subsidized free secondary local education centres							
	A*	B*	C*	D*	E	F	G	H*	I	L*	J*	K*
Bad programming - unnecessary programming - wrong programming	X			X		X X				X	X	X
Shortcomings in education facilities : - a few options and/or school years - groups or part of groups <sup>2</sup>	X	X	X	X		X				X X	X	X X

Source : Devos e.a. (1989 : 127)

Key : 1 an asterisk means that the schools in question form an education centre with other schools not covered by the study.

2 The group of study years and/or options in question are : general secondary education option (ASO), technical secondary education (TSO) and vocational secondary education (BSO). In the TSO and BSO disciplines an additional distinction is made between so-called boys' options (engineering, carpentry), and so-called girls' options (health care, secretariat, retail trade).

In 1991, four years after the former project, twenty-seven heads were asked whether they thought that the legal regulations left enough freedom for principals to take decisions for their own schools, seventeen heads were satisfied

with the act, four thought that the act should be stricter (Buelens, Devos, 1992: 64). Whether this opinion is still alive, will be checked later.

### 3.5. Overall number of periods per teacher

A very important instrument for local school policy might be the way schools make use of the overall number of periods per teacher.

The decree dated July 31, 1990 allows schools the opportunity to ensure better programming in the following school year, by making a provision for the period-fund or overall number of periods-teacher to be calculated each year on the basis of the number of pupils enrolled in a school on February 12 in the previous year. This decree (Art. 52 to Art. 57) applies a general framework to all secondary schools in the ordinary education sector, and at the same time allows them more freedom of action in preparing curriculums. At the first stage of secondary education, a minimum level of course periods per week is combined with a certain number of subjects that all the students must follow, but the schools themselves can decide how many periods to devote to each subject. At the second and third stage, the basic courses are fixed, but not the number of periods that have to be spent on these courses. Subsidized free schools are entitled to organize courses of religion, non-denominational ethics, cultural philosophy or "autochthonous culture and religion", depending on the ideology of the Organizing Authority. In official education, whether it be Community education or subsidized official education, courses of religion and of ethics must both be on offer, so that pupils can choose one of the two. Further, secondary schools can do what they wish with the periods left over when all the compulsory courses have been organized. These periods can be used to arrange remedial and reorientation courses, for continuing training for teachers, for class boards and class administration, for specific pedagogical duties, to organize language courses, to develop a rational scheme for linking the educational facilities to the new general framework and the credits for the overall number of

period-teacher (Art. 57 of the decree dated July 31, 1990).

Depending on their situation, schools took different decisions about the use of the available periods. We found in twelve schools four patterns:

- 1) One school was obliged to reduce the number of courses on offer;
- 2) Six schools were able to maintain the number of courses on offer, but had to reduce all additional help for pupils and/or had to increase the number of pupils in the classes. This was because of the small number of available periods per teacher;
- 3) Three schools were in the same position as the latter, but this was because, although they had enough periods per teacher, they had to save for the future;
- 4) Two schools were large enough to take advantage of the pedagogical comfort offered by this law.

Although teachers were supposed to be asked for advice by the principal in listing criteria to be used in deciding about the application of the overall availability of periods, in most of the schools decisions were taken by the head, in some schools joined by co-ordinators or teachers in general (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 79-81).

### 3.6. Provision of rules and pedagogic climate

Several researchers have stressed the importance of clear rules in school as a source of effectiveness of schooling. Teachers with a clear vision on the pedagogical principles they want to bring into practice and put into rules for the pupils, may have a positive influence on the effectiveness of schooling (Verhoeven e.a. 1992: 86-96). In our survey of twenty-three schools we found that teachers scored .58 on 1 on a scale of clarity of rules for the pupils; heads scored higher, viz. .73. For the scale 'dialogue among teachers and head about the standards for the pupils' teachers attained .59 on 1, while heads came to .77. The translation of the standards to the pupils in concrete terms of class practice

was for teachers .62 and for heads .72. And a last interesting score in this respect is the score for clarity of the school rules which teachers have to follow when evaluating pupils: teachers reached .86 on 1, and heads came to .96. These figures suggest that many teachers had no clear opinion about the rules, did not often discuss them, and did not pay much attention to the translation of the rules for pupils. As far as the rules to be applied during the evaluation of pupils is concerned the score is much higher than the others. This means that there was more unanimity among teachers and heads about evaluation rules than about other rules. It is also interesting to know that these figures are different among the schools. The higher scores of the heads in comparison with the teachers are also remarkable. This difference is probably a consequence of the different position of teachers and heads.

Using these statements (in a cluster analysis) as a base to typify schools as pedagogically oriented or not, we found three schools with rather high scores, fourteen could be placed around the average, and six scored significantly lower.

There is a second point we want to make. Pupil guidance is an important educational resource. Teachers assess the socio-psychological guidance to be .59 on 1, whereas heads attain .64. The level for learning guidance is lower, respectively .44 and .58. These figures are rather low, and for some schools as low as .31 for socio-psychological guidance and .25 for tutoring. Typifying the twenty-three schools of this project it was found that only two schools scored high for both socio-psychological and learning guidance, nineteen schools are close to the general average for both variables, and two schools score very low for these variables (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 89-96). Guidance of pupils in both domains seems not to be self-evident either for teachers and for heads.

Mahieu and Van Vooren (1991: 25- 26) looked at twenty-nine schools to see what relation there might be between the appreciation by the teachers of the clarity of the formal school regulations and the type of school policy in the

schools. In **collaborative schools** they found 1) that teachers were very concerned about the school regulations, and 2) that they had a strong consensus about the interpretation, application and acceptance of the regulations. **Segmental schools** were different: 1) teachers were not very much concerned about the school regulations; 2) their interpretation of the regulations was very diverse; 3) depending on the type of pupils, regulations were applied differently; and 4) the acceptance level of the regulations was very low. In the **line and staff schools** teachers had the same characteristics as in former type as far as 1) and 4) are concerned. Yet in these schools, teachers demand a uniform application of school regulations. The reason is likely to be that school regulations are very hazy for the teachers - an odd statement for schools with a rather bureaucratic type of management.

### 3.7. Recruitment of pupils

Since the number of pupils in a school strongly influences the financial means of a school and consequently the pedagogic comfort and the types of education a school can offer, this factor should not be forgotten. In eight of the twelve schools we investigated in 1987 (in most of which the number of pupils was decreasing or stabilized), a lot of activities were organized to promote the school. The most important were: advertisements in newspapers, billboards, mailing of leaflets, personal contact of the staff with candidates, information evenings for parents, and open school days. Only schools traditionally attracting enough pupils did not pay heed to these practices. Depending on the kind of education (general, technical, or vocational) schools directed the advertisement to special groups of pupils.

In our project of 1990 we asked teachers and heads about activities organized by the schools that were intended to improve the image of the school (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 77-85). These were the topics which we raised: collaboration with socio-cultural organizations, advertising, trying to find

financial support in the local community, contacts with local industry, alumni organizations and parents' organization. We also asked to what extent teachers were involved in these activities. The average activity level in the schools according to the teachers was .71 on 1. Depending on the school this figure varied between .51 and .88. Heads attained a slightly higher figure, i.e. .74.

The level of concern of teachers on decision-making in relation to image-building activities for the school according to themselves was .52 on 1, but according to the heads .88. This is a remarkable discrepancy. Teachers probably give more information about their experiences, heads maybe more about their wishes. Without any doubt these figures reveal that heads were really concerned about the image of the school, even when teachers did not have the same feeling. Schools were very different in this respect. Yet we were able to make a distinction between three types: 1) in six schools (out of twenty-three) teachers considered concern about the school image to be the duty of the head; 2) ten schools organized fewer activities than the average, but teachers participated in the decision-making on these issues; and 3) seven schools attained a high level of activities and concern about school image-building (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 163).

#### § 4. School policy and effectiveness of schooling

The last problem we discuss in this chapter is the contribution of school policy to the effectiveness of schooling. This problem is very differently investigated.

The first group of answers does not include the output of school policy as the major indicator of school efficacy, but stresses contributory factors to the effectiveness of schooling. Some pages above, we described what proportion of teachers and heads in eight Catholic schools thought that the ten councils were

working well (see table 2.2). When teachers and heads felt that these councils operated well, this was considered to be an improvement of the effectiveness of schooling (Mahieu, 1989: 123-138). For conclusions made on the basis of this observation we refer to § 1 of this chapter.

Another project takes a similar standpoint. Here no questions were asked about the operation of councils, but questions regarding the effectiveness of schooling were confined to the staff policy of the head (Van Hooreweghe, 1992: 153-171). Only thirty-one of the headmasters could be included in the analysis. This analysis found four schools with scores 11-15 for staff policy, twelve schools with scores 6-10, eight schools with scores 1-5, and seven schools with scores -1 to -9. Of course, this is no representative picture of the schools in Flanders, but it gives an idea of the assessment of staff policy as a rich or poor activity. The figures also show that there was a (weak) positive relation between staff policy and higher appreciation of material job circumstances; a just refunding of the occupational expenses; a higher appreciation of the head; and a high appreciation of the welcome activities for new teachers. Other, but weaker, relations between staff policy and other variables were found, viz. high work security; high appreciation by pupils and colleagues; and a low number of psycho-somatic complaints seemed to go together with more activity in staff policy.

In our latest project we approached the problem of effectiveness of school policy partly in the same way as in the other projects, i.e. we offered more than 1,000 teachers and the heads of twenty-three schools ten areas of school policy (e.g. staff policy, participation in decision-making, collaboration among colleagues, in-service training, etc.) and asked them to assess these areas on a scale from 0 to 4 using different criteria. The questions were as follows: 1) how important are the following activities for the quality of education in your school? 2) How important for your job satisfaction do you consider school policy in relation to the following aspects? 3) How effective is school policy

concerning the following aspects ? and 4) How satisfied are you about school policy in relation to the following aspects?

On a scale of 0 to 1, teachers attained a score of .81 and heads .86 when they assessed the contribution of the ten activities to the maintenance of the quality of education. The contribution of these activities to the job satisfaction of the teachers was lower, namely .74, while heads approached an average of .85. The measurement of the effectiveness of school policy according to the teachers attained a rather low level of .61, whereas headmasters still came to an average of .70. Neither teachers (.60) nor heads (.68), were very satisfied about school policy though the latter not so little as the teachers. Again it should be highlighted that headmasters scored higher on the four scales than did the teachers (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 97-105).

However interesting this information might be, we do not intend to expand this analysis with an overview of the links of these scales with other variables. We rather pay more attention to the link between school policy and the outcome of school policy. In order to know whether school policy might influence pupils' results and their well being, we measured for Dutch and Maths in the beginning and at the end of the school year, and we did the same in order to study the well-being of the pupils (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 407-514). Because it was our aim to know to what extent school characteristics, besides individual characteristics, were related to the test results and to the well-being of pupils, measured both at the level of the person and at the level of the school, we applied multi-level analysis or hierarchical linear models. The calculations were done using the procedure Proc Mixed of SAS.

Before considering the relation between school policy and pupil behaviour and attitudes, we offer some information about the development of test results and the well-being of pupils and the relation between pupil characteristics and school output.

To measure the well-being of pupils, a scale with 70 items was used ( $\alpha=.96$ ), composed of 7 subscales. In the beginning of the school year the pupils of the first form (of the secondary school) were more satisfied about the school (3.186 on 4) than at the end of the school year (3.061). These figures are significantly higher than the figures for pupils of the top form. They measured in the beginning of the school year 2.852 on 4. At the end of the year this figure had not significantly changed.

Test results for Dutch and Mathematics in the **first form** were measured with different tests in the beginning and at the end of the school year. The reason for this approach was that the aims of the top form of elementary school are different from the aims of secondary school. Consequently we were obliged to standardize the test results in order to study the development of the position of pupils and schools in the global distributions of the results at the beginning and at the end of the school year. These figures have shown that, within a period of one year, the average test results of most of the schools do not change significantly; at the end of the school year most schools and classes maintained the same position in rank order as at the beginning of the school year.

Before looking at the implications of school policy for school output, we want to make some remarks concerning the relation between the school achievement of pupils and some other characteristics. First, it is clear that schools differ from each other as far as the average school results for Dutch and Maths are concerned. But on the other hand, it should be stressed that the variation among pupils is larger than the variance among schools. Second, schools with a high average IQ or with pupils of a high socio-economic status have better results for both disciplines. Moreover, as far as IQ is concerned, the more heterogeneous the schools the higher their results. This is not the case for schools with a high status heterogeneity. As far as the social status is concerned, the more heterogeneous the schools the lower the average school results for the two disciplines. Three, on average these relationships can be



detected in each school separately. Four, variables which we thought (on the base of variance analysis) to have an influence on school results, had no relation. We mention: networks; type of education: structure of the school (1, 2, or 3 grades); number of pupils in the school; well-being of pupils; sex ratio of pupils and teachers; proportion of teachers in tenured position; proportion of teachers of age-categories at school; and experience of the head. Five, the average school results for the tests of Dutch and Maths were also different between general schools and technical and vocational schools. Six, if one knows the average results of a school for these disciplines in the beginning of the school year, then it is very easy to forecast what the average position of that school will be at the end of the school year.

Of more importance for our project now, is to know whether there is a relation between school policy and test results and the well-being of the pupils. School policy was measured on the level of the school heads and on the level of the teachers. As may be seen above, school policy was divided into several parts and these parts again into smaller units. We analyzed seven characteristics of school policy, each of them split into several sub-scales. The main features of school policy were: 1) staff management (two sub-scales), 2) participation of teachers in decision-making (three sub-scales), 3) collaboration among teachers (two sub-scales), 4) in-service training (three sub-scales), 5) promotion of school image (two sub-scales), 6) pedagogic climate (six sub-scales), 7) opinion of teachers and heads about the efficiency of school policy (four sub-scales).

Using multi-level analysis we have come to the conclusion that only a few aspects of school policy had any influence on the school outcome of pupils, but it would be incorrect to conclude on the base of our data that school policy had no influence at all on school outcome. The main reason why school policy did not look so important for the improvement of effectiveness of schooling was probably to be found in the rather short period of observation of the test results and the well-being of the pupils. We offer the main conclusions, first for Dutch

and Maths achievement, second about the well-being of the pupils.

There are no relations to describe between the **test results** and the school policy at **the beginning of the school year**. This is reasonable because there was no contact between schools and pupils before that. At **the end of the school year** some relationships could be detected. It appears that when the average number of collaborative acts in a school was high, the average test results of Dutch and Maths were also high. When the average for dialogue among teachers and heads about the standards was high, the average test results for Dutch were high as well. This was also the case when there was a high average of the number of activities to promote the image of the school. The figures also confirm that a high average of the school means on Maths achievement went together with a high homogeneity in the concern of teachers about the school image in a school. Some relations are not easy to explain, e.g., 1) when teachers had on average a very different opinion about the necessity of participatory councils in a school, then we found better average school means in Dutch and Maths achievement; 2) when the average satisfaction of teachers about school policy was very different in a school, then we found better school means in Dutch and Maths achievement. Why the other variables of school policy had no influence, needs more research.

Before presenting the relationships among school policy variables and the well-being of pupils in the first form, it is also important to realize that pupils on average felt worse at the end of the school year for most of the sub-scales of well-being. This was the case for: 1) the global perception of the school; 2) the academic self-perception; 3) the perception of the relation with the teacher as a teacher; 4) the perception of the curriculum; 5) the perception of the school as an organization. No change was found between the beginning and the end of the school year as far as the perception of relations with other pupils, and the perception of the teacher as a person were concerned.

For each point of observation and for the development between these points we found a few relations. In the **beginning of the school year** the average **well-being** of schools was higher, 1) when heads assessed that teachers were much involved in the promotion of the school image; 2) when the collaboration in the school according to the heads was high; and 3) when the average of teachers alledging that they really cared to translate the standards for the pupils, was high. At the **end of the year** the average well-being of schools was higher when the heads assessed the collaboration among teachers as high. Looking at the development of the average well-being of pupils in schools, five variables of school policy seem to have an effect on the development of well-being: 1) the greater homogeneity of the perception of teachers of the collaboration in schools; 2) the higher the average socio-psychological guidance in schools; 3) the less the average autonomy of heads when recruiting teachers; 4) the lower the average observation activities in schools; and 5) the less concerned on average teachers were about the school image, the larger the average development of well-being. Here we should not forget that evolution of well-being in the first form means a decrease in well-being. School policy seemed to have some influence on well-being, even in the short run.

In comparison with the first form, the well-being of pupils in the **sixth form** no longer changed. But just as in the first form, schools were different, both in the beginning and at the end of the school year, as far as the average general well-being and the sub-scales were concerned. In the **beginning of the school year** two school policy variables seemed to have some influence: 1) the less, on average, heads stressed the school policy to maintain the quality of education, and 2) the more homogeneous the average opinion of teachers in a school was about discussion of standards, the higher was the average well-being in schools. At the **end of the school year** it became clear that: 1) the more homogeneous the average opinion of teachers in a school was about discussion of standards, 2) the higher the head's assessment of the collaboration among teachers, and 3) the lower the average job satisfaction related to the school

policy in a school, the better was the average well-being of pupils.

This short synthesis of the results of our project shows that school policy and effectiveness of schooling are related with each other. We did not find that picture often described in theoretical works. For this reason some opinions should be investigated carefully. More money and time should be spent in order to collect longitudinal material and field-work accounts. They may open another picture of the relation between school policy and the effectiveness of schooling.

## § 5. Conclusion

In this chapter an overview of the most important results of research in relation to school policy was presented. None of these projects cover the most recent school policy, as it is described in chapter 1. Yet these results are important because they teach us about school policy as it was applied in the recent past.

In the first paragraph a description was given of the participation of teachers in decision-making in schools. It was shown that more than before teachers want to and do participate in decision-making, but they are still more interested in educational than in organizational policy. In spite of this development, there is still a rather large group of teachers who can be called 'deprived'. Although teacher unions have certainly improved the participation of teachers in decision-making on the national level, the influence of the unions on the local level is not so outspoken. Depending on the attitude of the local head and the efforts of the local union representatives, the TU has promoted the participation of teachers in decision-making, but sometimes also impeded it.

The second paragraph typifies the decision-making procedures in schools. First, we distinguished schools 1) with a subject-focused or organization-focused



policy; 2) with a rule-focused or a bureaucratic policy; 3) with a pupil-focused policy; and 4) with a traditional policy. Second, schools were also distinguished as segmental schools or collaborative or non-segmental schools. Many schools seem to fit into the latter types, but probably a larger part of them lies in between.

School policy should not be reduced to the procedures of decision-making. It has also to do with special domains of policy or educational resources. In paragraph three the most important results were presented in relation to the following policy domains: 1) personnel management; 2) financial and equipment management; 3) curriculum; 4) rationalization and programming; 5) overall number of periods per teacher; 6) giving of rules and pedagogic climate; and 7) recruitment of pupils. This overview makes clear that in spite of a traditionally centralized educational policy system in Belgium, local school policy is a reality, albeit not to the same extent in all schools or in all areas.

The last question we touched in this chapter was the problem of the contribution of school policy to the effectiveness of schooling. Effectiveness of schooling was conceived very differently in the three projects: one project was interested in the effectiveness of the participatory councils in the opinion of the teachers and heads; another project paid attention to the effectiveness of staff policy as described by the heads; and the third project investigated the relationship between school policy as defined by teachers and heads, on the one side, and the Dutch and Maths achievement and well-being of pupils, on the other hand. Relying on multi-level analysis this last project suggests that the contribution of many variables of school policy to the effectiveness of schooling is very doubtful. Others seem to be powerful factors influencing the effectiveness of schooling. At the same time it was suggested that we need more longitudinal research and field work in order to collect more relevant material in this respect.

### Chapter 3. The Research Design

The main research question as formulated in DEELSA/ED/WD(92)14 of the OECD was the following: "What is the impact at the school/local authority levels and how can schools effectively respond to existing policies and the most recent policies and reforms designed to enhance the effectiveness of schooling and of educational resource management?". And depending on the national policy in a particular country it was suggested that it should be questioned "to what extent and in what ways are changes in decision-making processes and structures designed to redistribute responsibility at the school/local authorities level affecting: 1) the curriculum and assessment of pupils, 2) human resource utilisation, 3) physical resources, 4) school-level financing, 5) evaluation and accountability procedures, and 6) governance?". The second specification of the research question was: "What is the capacity of school managers (school boards, heads, teachers, parents, etc.) to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of schooling with reference to 1) their management knowledge and skills, and 2) their role in leadership, curriculum articulation, resource utilisation, school organization, staffing policy, continuing development of teachers, evaluation and monitoring, and student learning and outcome?"

Concerning the first specification of the research question we have already stressed in Chapter 1 that some initiatives in Belgian education policy provided school policy-makers with new resources to improve effectiveness of schooling. The most important are: 1) the new participatory structures; 2) the new structure of the financial and equipment management; 3) the unified structure of secondary education; 4) the new inspectorate; 5) the Education Development Service; 6) the Pedagogic Counselling Services; 7) multi-cultural education; and 8) the in-service training of teachers. These measures are very recent, and it may be expected that not all schools have taken advantage of these new resources. Consequently our questioning was confined to what policy-makers think might be the improvement of effectiveness of schooling to be

expected from the new educational structures and resources. As far as the old educational structures and resources were concerned it was easier for heads and teachers to describe the influence of these structures and resources on the effectiveness of schooling.

Since this project is part of a comparative analysis of school policy in member countries of the OECD, we were able to rely on a proposal for the questionnaire and a proposal for the sampling of schools for the project.

Two types of questionnaires were used<sup>1</sup>. The first was structured. It was presented to the head of each school at the time of the interview (see appendix II). After the interview with the head, the school secretariat were able to collect the data and mail them when finished. The main purpose of this questionnaire was to collect data about the number and age of pupils; the average number of pupils per class; the social background of the pupils; the training and seniority of teachers; the curriculum; the situation of the school buildings; etc. These data were not only collected for 1991/1992, but also for the school year 1987/1988. Since we were interested in the evolution of school management during the last five years these indicators might be important to describe this development. Most of the schools answered rather quickly. Two schools were more reluctant; they answered only in October 1993. The completeness of the questionnaires was very different. Some questionnaires were very poorly completed, principally for lack of time. The questions with the least specific answers were those in relation to the number of hours spent on a specific subject, this in spite of the fact that all schools have this information. To answer the question in relation to the number of hours homework per week was also a problem. Only one school answered the question concerning hours per week. The other schools referred to the general principles as decided by the

<sup>1</sup> The questionnaires are given in the appendix of this report. We keep the Dutch version as used by us in the interviews with the respondents. These versions are very close to the original English proposal of the OECD. Questions were only adapted to the Belgian (Flemish) situation.

umbrella organization. These prescriptions determine the tasks over the school year. In general it may be said that each pupil has to do his homework every day of the week, except during the weekend.

The second type of questionnaire (as presented by the OECD experts) was used in our project as a scheme to conduct an in-depth interview with the head, a teacher member of the local school council or the participation council, the most senior maths teacher, and a parent member of the local school council or the participation council of twelve schools. In the design for comparative analysis of the countries it was suggested that the head of the maths department should be questioned. Since secondary schools in Belgium have no departmental structure we thought it made sense to replace this head by the most senior maths teacher. He usually had rather high status among his/her colleagues and could function as a person who was well informed about school policy. This hypothesis cannot be generalized: only when the senior maths teacher is participating in one of the school bodies was s/he somewhat familiar with school policy, otherwise s/he was not.

The content of the in-depth interviews of the heads had the following general structure and conforms to the appointments made by the team of experts of the OECD:

1) The school and its context; 2) the intake; 3) the curriculum; 4) goals; 5) the governance of education; 6) staff; 7) relations with parents and the community; 8) the formal organization of decision-making in the school; 9) management of finances and equipment; 10) the management of opportunity to learn; 11) the outcomes of education; and 12) the support of the inspectorate and counselling services. The aim was to collect a description of all relevant phenomena in the school and to compare them with the situation of five years before.

The questionnaire for the teacher member of the local school council or the participation council had the same structure as that for the head.

The questionnaire for the senior maths teacher was different from former schemes. The objective was to know whether the recent reforms in the Flemish education structure had had an impact on the way respondents saw their task, i.e. our interest was focused on the implementation of the unified structure, the new regulations in relation to the management of finance, attainment targets, the new inspectorate, in-service training, counselling services, and the new participatory structure, and other local innovations. Besides these, questions were asked in relation to the collaboration among teachers, the meetings of teachers, and the possibilities for participation in decision-making in schools.

A parent member of the local school council or the participation council was also interviewed in each school. These representatives were asked to describe their role and the role of other parents in the school. They were also invited to give a picture of the main changes in the school during the last five years in relation to the special educational reforms in Flanders.

The original plan to interview members of the inspectorate could not be kept. The available time period was too short. On the other hand, in order to certify up to date information in relation to the management practices of the Department of Education we interviewed several senior civil servants who were in charge of the management of the main innovations as described in Chapter 1, §3.

Although we asked the head and the teacher member of the council what they considered to be effective schools, the researchers took as a working definition that effectiveness of schooling was a process of improvement of the achievement and the well-being of pupils. This was important in respect of the fact that we had to question the respondents about the meaning of all the educational resources for the effectiveness of schooling. Undoubtedly teachers and heads answered from their personal standpoints. On the other hand, we

were able to encourage the respondent, if necessary, to consider the different aspects of the effectiveness of schooling.

All these people were interviewed by the junior researcher starting on the 18th of March 1993 and the work was finished on the 15th of July 1993. The average interview with the heads lasted three hours (between 2 h. and 3 h. 40 min.), and with the teacher member of a council two hours (between 1 h. and 2 h. 50 min.). The interviews with the senior maths teacher and with the parents were shorter. Since they are not at the centre of school management, their information was also more limited. The average interview with them lasted 30 minutes.

All interviews were tape-recorded and processed to be used in the personal computer. Before the analysis all interviews were carefully checked in order to be sure that we were working with correctly transcribed tapes. These data were coded in rather general categories to adapt them for computer assisted analysis. Using these general categories it was easy very quickly to retrieve by computer the relevant answers and to continue with a more in-depth analysis.

The sampling of the schools did not occur at random, but was organized on the basis of criteria which might have a special meaning for school policy. It was taken for granted that we should select schools representing the distribution of particular types of schools in the Flemish school landscape. First, four schools of the Community network were selected and eight Catholic schools. The reason for this unequal representation is the larger group of Catholic schools (more than double the number of Community schools) in comparison with the Community schools. Second, seven schools of type I, four schools of type II, and one school with only the unified structure<sup>2</sup>. Since the unified structure is obligatory, all schools had some forms already organized according to this

<sup>2</sup> This is a middle school and offers only the unified structure.

structure. Third, the tracks offered by the schools. One school was a middle school and offers general education preparing for the general, technical or vocational track. Three schools offered only general education, one school general and technical, four schools technical and vocational education, and three general, technical and vocational education. Fourth, schools were selected on the basis of the grades organized by the schools: one school organized only the first grade, one school the 1st and the 2nd grade, five schools the 2nd and the 3rd grade, and five schools the three grades. Fifth, the size of school was taken into account: six schools had less than 500 pupils, five schools were attended by more than 500 and less than 1,000 pupils, and one school had more than 1,000 pupils. Sixth, attention was paid to the gender ratio of the pupils. The ratios were very different. One school was a girls' school, and two other schools had a clear majority of girls. Two schools had a smaller proportion of girls in comparison with the boys.

In the beginning it was our purpose to select schools we had already investigated in relation to school policy in two former projects (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989; Verhoeven e.a., 1992). This procedure might be very interesting because it might inform us about former school policy. We were able to choose from thirty-five schools. For two reasons this original plan was not followed. First, some of these schools did not want to participate in this project. Second, for this project we had to take into account the policy of the schools in relation to immigrant pupils. Since none of the schools of the former projects had many immigrant pupils we had to look for other schools. Of our sample we had already investigated eight schools in former projects, but four were new.

It would have been interesting to select the schools on the basis of the relationship between the different criteria. This was of course impossible since only twelve schools could be taken in the project. This site-based approach did

not imply an intention that the sample should be representative for all schools of Flanders. The sites were only the basis on which to detect the patterns of school policy in different school types.

The definitive choice of the schools was discussed and approved by two senior civil servants with the advice of an inspector who had a special responsibility for the programmes for immigrant pupils. The next table gives the schools with their characteristics<sup>3</sup>. To provide an idea of the general distribution of the school characteristics of all the schools in Flanders, after this table we list the numbers of schools of each type in the sample. Between brackets figures are given for all the schools of that type in Flanders on February 1, 1992 (source: Bestuur Statistiek, Department of Education).

<sup>3</sup> In order to protect the anonymity of the schools, all schools are mentioned by a letter. When respondents are quoted in the following pages the letters correspond to the school and the figures to the persons answering, i.e. 01 = head; 02 = the teacher member of the council; 03 = the Maths teacher; and 04 = the parent.

Table 3.1. Characteristics of the sampled schools

SCHOOL	NETWORK	TYPE	TRACKS	STRUCTURE	SIZE	% BOYS	% Girls
A	Community	1/3	1	6	206	49	51
B	Community	1/3	6	6	425	34	66
C	Community	1/3	1	6	312	50	50
D*	Community	3	0	1	123	67	33
E	Private	2/3	6	4	690	69	31
F*	Private	2/3	7	7	340	15	85
G	Private	1/3	7	6	302	52	48
H <sup>4</sup>	Private	1/3	6	7	1122	94	6
I	Private	2/3	1	7	574	3	97
J	Private	2/3	1	7	437	32	68
K	Private	1/2/3	6	7	537	0	100
L* <sup>4</sup>	Private	1/3	7	7	687	2	98

\* minimum 10% foreign students at the first form

<sup>4</sup> It has to be noticed that whereas school H and school L are mixed schools, the number of boys at school L and girls at school H is rather small. This can be explained by the tracks offered in these schools. Traditionally school L was a school for girls and consequently the tracks offered at school L are directed to traditionally 'female occupations'. It has to be stressed that in theory all tracks in both schools can be attended by both boys and girls. The number of boys and girls in these schools can be explained by the background of these schools and the still rather 'traditional' choice of most pupils.

**NETWORK:**

Community: 4 schools (287 schools in Flanders)

Private (Catholic): 8 schools (652 schools in Flanders<sup>5</sup>)

**TYPE:**

type I = 1 (reformed secondary education)

type II = 2 (traditional secondary education)

Unified structure = 3

1/3: 6 schools (502 schools in Flanders)

2/3: 4 schools (239 schools in Flanders)

1/2/3: 1 school (73 schools in Flanders)

3: 1 school (this is a 1st grade middle school)

**TRACKS<sup>6</sup>:**

Common secondary education (= 0): 1 school in sample (this is a 1st grade middle school)

ASO or general secondary education (= 1): 4 schools in sample (222 schools in Flanders)

TSO or technical secondary education (= 2): 0 schools in sample (18 schools in Flanders)

BSO or vocational secondary education (= 3): 0 schools in sample (42 schools in Flanders)

ASO/TSO (4): 0 schools in sample (60 schools in Flanders)

ASO/BSO (5): 0 schools in sample (29 schools in Flanders)

TSO/BSO (6): 4 schools in sample (299 schools in Flanders)

ASO/TSO/BSO (7): 3 schools in sample (185 schools in Flanders)

<sup>5</sup> Most of the private schools are Catholic schools.

<sup>6</sup> The figures for Flanders do not contain the 1st grade Community schools.

**STRUCTURE<sup>7</sup>:**

1st grade (= 1): 1 school in sample (189 schools in Flanders)

2nd grade (= 2): 0 schools in sample (3 schools in Flanders)

3rd grade (= 3): 0 schools in sample (3 schools in Flanders)

1st and 2nd grade (= 4): 1 school in sample (48 schools in Flanders)

1st and 3rd grade (= 5): 0 schools in sample (1 school in Flanders)

2nd and 3rd grade (= 6): 4 schools in sample (240 schools in Flanders)

1st, 2nd and 3rd grade (= 7): 6 schools (547 schools in Flanders)

**NUMBER OF PUPILS<sup>8</sup>:**

< 500 pupils: 7 schools in sample (779 schools in Flanders)

501 - 1000 pupils: 4 schools in sample (239 schools in Flanders)

1001.- 1500 pupils: 1 school in sample (41 schools in Flanders)

In 1992 the average number of pupils in a secondary school in Flanders was 412 pupils. In Community schools this number was 250, and in Catholic schools 497.

The pattern of the succeeding chapters is as follows. In Chapter 4 each school will be described. Information will be given about pupils, teachers and the organizational characteristics. If available, some indicators, collected in former projects, will be presented. In Chapter 5 an analysis of the aims and directions of school policy is provided. Attention will be paid to the concept of the effectiveness of schooling, the philosophy of education and the mission of the school and how educational resources are used to attain these targets. In

<sup>7</sup> The figures for Flanders contain the schools of the three networks.

<sup>8</sup> The figures for Flanders contain the schools of the three networks.

Chapter 6 the organization of school policy will be described in relation to the improvement in the effectiveness of schooling. Chapter 7 will describe the results of school policy as far as the management of educational resources and the situation of the pupils are concerned. In all chapters attention will be drawn to the changes of the last five years in order to give some indicators of improvement in the effectiveness of schooling and educational resource management.

## Chapter 4. The context of the schools

Understanding school policy supposes a clear picture of the school. The purpose of this chapter is to give a description of the main characteristics of the pupils, the teachers, and the organization of the schools. As far as possible an overview is given of the changes in the schools during the last five years. This was not easy, because not all schools were able easily to provide the information. For some of them five years old records were too remote to be reported. One important change must be remembered for every school: every secondary school changed the Type I or the Type II structure to the unified structure in 1989. In 1995 all forms in a school should be organized according to the unified structure.

Before going into detail about each school we describe first the general pattern of a school day because this is very similar in all schools. We also comment on some questions creating many problems for school heads and secretaries to answer.

A school day in secondary schools consists of periods lasting fifty minutes, these periods being spread over five days of the week. On Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, schools start at 8.20 a.m. or 8.30 a.m. and last until 4.15 p.m. or 4.30 p.m. On Wednesday, schools start at the same time as other days and stop at 12 a.m. At noon there is time to take lunch from about 12 a.m. until 1 p.m. Every morning and afternoon each school has a minor break (10 or 15 minutes) to be spent in the play grounds. Depending on the track, schools offer thirty-two (in general education) or thirty-six (in technical education) periods per week. In the morning four periods<sup>1</sup> are organized and in the afternoon three or four (not on Wednesday).

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<sup>1</sup> Two schools organize five periods in the morning.



Schools were asked about the average number of hours pupils should spend on homework. Most of the schools did not answer this question in detail, because a description of all these figures is too complex. The time pupils had to spend on homework depended on the year of the pupil, the track and the specializations in the track, and the subject. We give one example. School C, a Community school offering general education, demanded in the 3rd year 7h. 30min. per week, in the 4th year 8h., in the 5th year 11h., and in the 6th year 12h. The Catholic schools answered that they organized the homework according to the prescriptions of the Catholic umbrella organization (NSKO). This scheme was very different for different years, tracks and specializations in the track, and the subject. In general it can be said that pupils of general education had more homework than the pupils of the technical and vocational schools, who had more practical work in school. It was also a principle that homework increased in frequency and load the older the pupils are.

Another difficult point for the schools was to answer the question about the total number of hours spent on different subjects. Only five schools answered this question. The lists provided by these schools were too long and too differentiated to discuss here. Indeed, curricula were different for each year, track and specialization in the track. One example: a school might have in the general education track nine specializations each with a different curriculum; in technical and vocational schools curricula might be even more differentiated.

When schools were asked about the total amount of periods used for teaching only, the answers varied between 100% and 95%. This implied that some schools (100% of the available hours) had to organize class councils without any payment for the teachers. If schools had some hours free of teaching they might organize class councils as one of the paid tasks of teachers or organize other extra educational exercises (e.g., supplementary coaching of the pupils).

The detailed description of the schools will be limited to information about pupils, teachers and the position of the school in the total educational supply (of secondary schools) of the locality. The organizational structure of decision-making will be discussed in chapter 6. If in one of our former projects (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989; Verhoeven e.a. 1992) information is available about teachers and pupils it will be presented in this chapter. During these former projects we collected figures on the opinion of teachers and heads on school policy and the achievement for Dutch and Mathematics in the first year and the well-being of pupils in the first and the sixth year. *If available we shall present these figures immediately followed by the average figure (put in brackets) for the total population of heads, teachers and pupils.*

### § 1. School A

This Community school was situated in a medium-sized urban-rural town (population 35,000 - 40,000) in a relatively new building of about seven years of age. In the same town, six other schools were interested in pupils of the same age: five Catholic schools and one Community school. The Community schools were all situated on the same campus, the Community middle school included.

School A was a school of about 200 pupils, providing general education for boys and girls of the second and the third grade (age range: 14 - 18 year). Since 1987-1988 the school population increased by 17%. The average class size is eleven, and the pupil/teacher ratio was 16.5 (only full-time teachers).

The social background of the first year pupils may roughly be described as follows: 18% of the pupils belonged to working class families, 64% of the

fathers belonged to the clerical middle class<sup>2</sup>, and 18% came from the independent middle class<sup>3</sup>. All pupils in this school were Belgian. Of all the pupils in the school 29.9% had to follow full-time compulsory education and 60.9% part-time. About 17% of the pupils of the school had had to repeat because of weak achievement in 1991/1992.

The **staff** consisted of thirty-one teachers (twelve of them were full-time in the school) and three administrative staff. 71% of the teachers and the total administrative staff had worked for more than five years in this school. Nine teachers had been trained in a college of education, eighteen at university and four others had received some other training (e.g., music, religious education).

## § 2. School B

This school was situated in the same town as school A. The largest part of the school buildings (90%) was rather new (not older than five years). A minor part was constructed in 1967. This technical and vocational school offered education to boys (34%) and girls (66%) of the second and the third grade (age: 14 -18). The number of **pupils** had increased 18% since 1988/1989 to 425 pupils in 1993. The proportion of immigrant pupils was about 1%.

On the basis of our former research (1990-1991) we calculated that the average number of pupils in the sixth year was ten. These pupils scored 2.98 on a scale of well-being of 1 to 4 in the beginning of the school year in 1990 and 2.99 at the end of the school year. The general average of the twenty-three schools of the project was 2.85 and 2.86 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> The term clerical middle class is used to refer to fathers who had a clerical job (bedienden).

<sup>3</sup> The label independent middle class refers to all kind of small and large entrepreneurs and the professions (e.g. physicians, lawyers, pharmacists).

No information was received about the **teachers** in this school. Relying on a former project, some information can be given about the teachers in 1990. The school had seventy-three teachers and 45% of them answered our questionnaire. The teachers (0.66 on 1 (.065)) and the head<sup>4</sup> (0.83 on 1 (0.81)) had a rather positive opinion about the operation of the participatory councils. Teachers (0.70 on 1 (0.78)) more than the head (0.64 (0.87)) rather thought that these councils were indispensable for good school policy. Teachers (0.67 on 2 (0.69)) wanted to be less involved in organizational management than in educational management (1.07 on 2 (1.14)).

The assessment of collaboration<sup>5</sup> among teachers was close to the average according to the teachers (0.5 on 1 (0.49)), whereas the head gave the co-operation among teachers a score of 0.57 (0.55). Teachers (0.67 on 1 (0.67)) also gave higher marks to fraternal feelings<sup>6</sup> among teachers than the head (0.50 on 1 (0.48)).

The activities to promote the image of the school were assessed as high by the head (0.67 on 1 (0.74)) as by the teachers (0.69 on 1 (0.71)), but the teachers (0.58 on 1 (0.52)) felt less involved in these actions than the head (1 on 1 (0.88)) thought they were.

The school climate as perceived by the teachers was close to the general average for four characteristics, but was lower than the average for two. According to the teachers on concern that rules be clear for pupils, teachers

<sup>4</sup> The head had nineteen years of experience as head of this school.

<sup>5</sup> The collaboration scale of the teachers is composed of the answers of teachers on the question of how often they cooperated with colleagues in seven activities, e.g. preparing a project for the class, preparing lessons with a colleague, etc..

<sup>6</sup> The fraternal atmosphere was measured by asking how teachers felt about 'the respect of teachers for each other in the school', 'their feeling of being accepted by colleagues in the school, and six similar topics.

attained 0.57 on 1, the dialogue between the teachers and the head about the standards 0.57 on 1, the translation of the standards to the pupils 0.67 on 1, and the regulations about the evaluation of pupils 0.84 on 1. The opinion of the head on these four characteristics was rather different: 0.50, 0.52, 0.67 and 1 respectively. Moreover, teachers and head had a very different opinion about socio-psychological and study counselling in the school: whereas the head gave a score 0 for these two, the teachers gave 0.47 (0.59) and 0.34 (0.44) respectively.

Taking into account ten measures of school policy, teachers scored 0.80 (0.81) on a scale measuring the importance of these measures for the maintenance of the quality of education. The importance of these measures for the improvement of their work satisfaction was assessed 0.77 (0.74) on 1, the effectiveness of these measures 0.64 (0.61), and their satisfaction with the school policy 0.56 (0.60). The scores of the head for the same indexes were 0.77 (0.86), 0.72 (0.85), 0.72 (0.70) and 0.72 (0.68) respectively.

### § 3. School C

School C was located in a medium-sized urban-rural town (population 30,000 - 35,000) and had to compete with one Community school and four Catholic schools. One Community middle school was an important supplier of pupils for this school. The school was housed in relatively old buildings (forty years old) and had suffered since 1987 from a small decrease of pupils (6%). The 312 pupils were composed of as many girls as boys of the 2nd and the 3rd grade of the general education track.

The average number of pupils per year was eleven and the pupil/teacher ratio was 13.56 (full-time teachers only). Of all pupils in the schools 26.6 had to follow full-time compulsory education and 66.6% part-time. On average

96% of the girls and 97% of the boys attended the school daily and these figures had not changed very much since 1987. 11% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992, whereas in 1987 this figure was 10%. According to the head 3% of the first year pupils needed special educational help (in 1987 5%).

About 12% of the pupils came from working class families, 76% from clerical middle class families and 12% from independent middle class families. The number of immigrant children in the 1st year was very low (0.32%).

In our survey of 1990-1991 the average feeling of well-being attained in the 6th year was 2.85 (average for all schools was 2.85 on 4) and at the end of the school year was 2.75 (average for all schools was 2.86). This was a significant decrease during that particular school year.

The head had six years of experience as head in this school and twenty-four as a teacher. Fifty teachers (twenty-three of them were full-time in this school), five administrative staff and several maintenance staff took care of the school. All teachers and administrative staff had worked for over five years in this school. Eighteen of the teachers were trained in colleges of education and thirty-two at universities.

In 1990 we interviewed 62% of the teachers and the head, which allows us to describe their attitude towards some aspects of school policy. The operation of the participation councils in the school was highly appreciated by the head (0.97 on 1 (0.81)), but less so by the teachers (0.69 on 1 (0.65)). The head and the teachers had similar views on the indispensability of the council for the promotion of the quality of schooling (0.83 (0.87) and 0.80 (0.78) on 1 respectively). Teachers (0.68 on 2 (0.69)) were not very much interested in the participation in organizational management, although they wanted to be involved in educational management (1.15 on 2 (1.14)). On the other hand the head thought that the teachers in his school were already to a certain extent involved

in organizational (1.11 on 2) and educational management (1.2 on 2).

Although collaboration among teachers was assessed on a low 0.45 on 1 (0.49) by teachers and 0.42 (0.55) by the head, teachers had a much higher appreciation of the fraternal atmosphere (0.74 on 1 (0.67)), but then again the head thought that teachers were not eager to collaborate (0.50 on 1 (0.48)). Teachers (0.71 on 1 (0.71)) gave a higher score to all kind of actions to improve the image of the school in town than the head (0.67 on 1 (0.74)), but less than the head (1 on 1 (0.88)) they (0.56 on 1 (0.52)) felt themselves to be involved in these actions.

On five of the six indicators for school climate this school scored higher than average, and this was not only the case for the teachers but for the head as well (except one indicator). Clarity of regulations got a 0.65 (0.58) from the teachers and 0.92 (0.73) from the head; dialogue between the teachers and the head about standards 0.59 (0.59) and 0.91 (0.77) respectively; the translation of standards for pupils got 0.71 (0.62) from the teachers and 0.89 (0.72) from the head; the regulations about the evaluation of pupils 0.90 (0.86) and 0.96 (0.96) respectively. According to the teachers socio-psychological counselling of the pupils attained 0.59 (0.59), whereas study counselling a weak 0.26 (0.44). The head assessed the last two characteristics not higher than 0.33 (0.64) and 0 (0.56).

When teachers were asked to assess the importance of ten actions of school policy for the quality of schooling they gave them a figure of 0.84 (0.81) on 1, whereas the head gave 0.92 (0.86). The same actions were rather highly appreciated by teachers (0.78 on 1 (0.74)) and the head (0.87 on 1 (0.85)) for their contribution to work satisfaction. Teachers (0.66 on 1 (0.61)) were less optimistic about the effectiveness of school policy than the head (0.87 on 1 (0.70)). We found the same discrepancy between the opinion of the teachers (0.63 on 1 (0.60)) and the head (0.80 on 1 (0.68)) regarding their satisfaction

about school policy.

#### § 4. School D

Located in an industrialized urban town (population 65,000 - 70,000) this Community middle school (the age of pupils is twelve to fourteen years) had to compete with ten Catholic schools. As a Community middle school this school was an important supplier of three other Community secondary schools (providing the two higher grades). During the last five years the number of pupils in the school had decreased by about 35% (at the moment the school has 123 pupils). It was a mixed school with 67% boys and 33% girls.

The average number of pupils per year is fifteen. The pupil/teacher ratio (only full-time teachers) was eleven.

45% of the 1st grade pupils belonged to working class families, 45% to the clerical middle class and 10% to the independent middle class. These figures are not reliable, because they did not include all pupils. We think that the proportion of working class pupils was higher, because the group of immigrant children was very large and most of the immigrant families were working class. Indeed, 64% of the 1st grade pupils were immigrant children from Turkish and Moroccan families.

The number of full-time and part-time teachers was twenty-three (eleven of them were full-time in this school), and 65% of them had already worked in this school for more than five years. Only one administrative staff member assisted the head who himself had worked for five years in the school.

## § 5. School E

School E was a rather large technical and vocational school situated in a rural-urban town (population 30,000 - 35,000). During the last five years the number of pupils had diminished by 3% reaching the number of 690 pupils, 69% boys and 31% girls. This school provided training for all kind of technical occupations for pupils of the first and the second grade. The school had a long tradition and had provided technical education since 1920. The school buildings dated from different years. In the same town five other Catholic schools and three Community schools attracted pupils.

The average number of pupils per year was 27. The pupil/teacher ratio (only full-time teachers) was 18. 60.6% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education and 37.8% part-time. About 8% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992/1993. And about 4% of the pupils of the first year needed special educational help.

In 1990-1991 pupils of the 1st year of this school took a test in Dutch and Mathematics. At the beginning of the school year the average achievement in Dutch was 44.41 and at the end of the school year 42.99 (this decrease is significant), the figures of Mathematics were 45.53 and 45.46 respectively.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the 1st year pupils were being raised in working class families (67%), 16% of them in clerical middle class families, and 17% in independent middle class families.

The feeling of well-being of the 1st year pupils in 1990-1991 attained an average score of 3.17 on 4 in the beginning of the school year and decreased significantly to 3.05 which is not unusual in 1st year; the general average for the

<sup>7</sup> These are z-scores with the average = 50.

twenty-three schools is 3.18 and 3.06 respectively.

The school had 127 teachers (thirty-eight of them were full-time in this school). The administrative work was the task of one person, who was helped by six people who also acted as pedagogical helpers. 67% of the teaching staff had worked in the school for over five years, the pedagogical director has had this function already for eight years. Sixty-four of the teachers had received training in a college of education, five at a university, and fifty-eight were trained technicians with a special pedagogical training.

In 1990 89% of the teachers of the 1st grade of this school answered our questionnaire concerning school policy. This gives an idea of the opinion of an important number of the teachers in this school. The operation of the participatory councils in the school got an average score of 0.65 on 1 (0.65) from the teachers and a higher 0.82 (0.81) from the head. Teachers (0.79 on 1 (0.78)) rather thought that these councils were indispensable for the maintenance of the quality of schooling, and so thought the head (0.87 on 1 (0.87)). The first did not show a lively interest in organizational management (0.63 on 2 (0.69)), whereas the head had the feeling that teachers were rather involved (1.33 on 2 (0.91)). On the other hand the teachers (1.10 on 2 (1.14)) wanted to be involved in the educational management, though the head was convinced that their involvement was very strong (2 on 2 (1.38)).

Collaboration with colleagues in this school attained almost the general average for the teachers of the twenty-three schools of the survey (0.47 on 1 (0.49)), and so did the fraternal atmosphere among teachers in the school (0.68 on 1 (0.67)). The head thought that collaboration among the teachers was higher (0.67 on 1 (0.55)) than the teachers saw it, but he had the feeling that teachers did not intend strongly to co-operate (0.50 on 1 (0.48)).

Teachers and head had a different opinion about the actions taken to promote the image of the school: teachers scored 0.70 on 1 (0.71), whereas the head gave it 0.83 on 1 (0.74). The discrepancy between the level of involvement of teachers in the decision-making about the actions to promote the image of the school was also rather large: the teachers scored 0.39 (0.52) and the head 1 on 1 (0.88).

The school climate as it was experienced by the teachers was close to the general picture of the twenty-three schools for four of the six scales: 1) attention to the clarity of the regulations in the school (0.54 on 1 (0.58)); 2) dialogue between teachers and head about standards (0.58 on 1 (0.59)); 3) regulations about the evaluation of pupils (0.83 on 1 (0.86)); and 4) the socio-psychological counselling of the pupils (0.52 on 1 (0.59)). Two scales show a discrepancy: 1) the translation of standards for pupils (0.54 on 1 (0.62)); and 2) study counselling (0.33 on 1 (0.44)). The picture of the school climate as given by the head was more positive for four aspects: 1) the attention to the clarity of regulations in the school (0.67 on 1 (0.73)); 2) dialogue between teachers and head about standards (0.63 on 1 (0.77)); 3) regulations about the evaluation of pupils (1 on 1 (0.96)); and 4) the socio-psychological counselling of the pupils (1 on 1 (0.64)). As far as the translation of the standards for pupils (0.50 on 1 (0.72)) and study counselling of pupils (0 on 1 (0.58)) are concerned, the head scored lower.

Assessing the importance of ten actions of school policy for the quality of schooling the teachers (0.78 on 1 (0.81)) scored rather high, though lower than the head (0.87 on 1 (0.86)). This school policy was also more important for the work satisfaction of the head (0.95 on 1 (0.85)) than for the teachers (0.73 on 1 (0.74)). The same relation was found concerning the opinion of the head (0.67 on 1 (0.70)) about the efficacy of the school policy and the opinion of the teachers (0.57 on 1 (0.61)). The teachers (0.56 on 1 (0.60)) were also less satisfied about school policy than was the head (0.65 on 1 (0.68)).

## § 6. School F

Situated in a rather small rural town (population 20,000 - 25,000) this Catholic school had buildings of fifty years old, but some parts were not older than five years. It was a former Type II school providing general, technical and vocational education for the three grades (pupils are 12 to 18 years old). The school had decreased over five years by 20% and had at that time 340 pupils (15% boys and 85% girls). Only one Community middle school in this town was competing with this school for pupils.

The average number of pupils in a year was 17 and the pupil/teacher ratio (only full-time teachers) 8.5. The average proportion of girls attending daily school was 88% and the average proportion of the boys 95%, a slightly lower figure than 5 years before. To give an idea of the problems the school was facing we give two figures: 8% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992, and 1% of the first year pupils needed special educational help.

It is also important to know that 14% of the 1st year pupils were immigrant children: 50% of them have Moroccan parents, 45% Turkish, and 5% Tunisian. 15% of the Moroccan and the Turk group were not born in Belgium. All the Tunisians were born in Belgium.

The social background of the 1st year pupils was mainly working class: about 50% of them. The second largest group were the children of the clerical middle class (40%). The smallest group were the children of independent middle class (10%).

The teaching staff had fifty-seven members (forty of them were full-time in this school), whereas the administrative staff were seven and the maintenance staff were four. These figures included full-time and part-time personnel. Most of the staff were rather familiar with the school: 90% of the teachers and 100%



of the other staff members had worked in the school for five years or more. The largest group of teachers had enjoyed training in colleges of education (33), whereas the others had received university training (23) or training as elementary school teacher. The head had had experience of seven years in this position in the same school.

### § 7. School G

School G was located in a small rural town (population 10,000 - 15,000) and was housed in thirty year-old buildings. This was a small Catholic school with an almost stable **pupil** population in comparison with 1987 (302 pupils; 52% boys and 48% girls). This school provided general, technical and vocational education for pupils of the 2nd and the 3rd grade (pupils are 14-18 year old). A Catholic middle school in the same town was an important supplier of pupils to this school. In the same town a Community middle school and a Community school for the 2nd and 3rd grade attracted pupils as well.

The average number of pupils in a year was 23. The educational support was rather comfortable: the pupil/teacher ratio was 10.06 (only full-time teachers). 19.2% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, and 65.6% part-time. The proportion of pupils who had had to repeat a year in 1992-1993 was rather low, viz. 4%.

There were no immigrant children in the first year. Working class children were 36% of the 1st year pupils. This group was smaller than the children of clerical middle class children, viz. 42%, but larger than the independent middle class children, viz. 22%.

In our survey of 1990-1991 the score for the feeling of well-being of the pupils in the 6th form of this school was 2.90 (2.85) at the beginning of the

school year and 2.86 (2.86) at its end.

The teaching **staff** was composed of forty-eight members (thirty of them were full-time in this school), the administrative staff had one member, and the maintenance staff five, both full-time and part-time. 80% of the teachers and of the maintenance staff had worked in the school for five years or more, and this was the same for the person in charge of the secretariat. Twenty-eight teachers had enjoyed training in a college of education and twenty in a university. The head had already occupied his position for eighteen years.

In 1990 75% of teachers answered our questionnaire concerning some aspects of school policy. Teachers gave the operation of the participatory councils a rather low score, viz. 0.53 (0.65), and - although a little higher - so did the head, viz. 0.64 (0.81). Yet the teachers (0.68 on 1 (0.78)) and the head (0.83 on 1 (0.87)) thought that these councils were indispensable for the maintenance of schooling quality, although the head was more convinced than the teachers. When teachers were asked about their wish to participate in organizational management, they were not very enthusiastic (0.84 on 2 (0.69)), but clearly more so than teachers in general in our survey. The head thought that teachers were less concerned about their participation in this part of the management (0.78 on 2 (0.91)). Teachers wished much more for participation in educational management (1.31 on 2 (1.14)) and the head felt that teachers were also much more concerned about this kind of participation (1.40 on 2 (1.38)).

The collaboration among teachers reached a score of 0.52 on 1 (0.49) according to the teachers, whereas the head gave it a lower figure (0.40 on 1 (0.56)). The impression of the fraternal atmosphere among teachers received a significantly different assessment from teachers (0.59 on one (0.67)) and the head. The head had the impression that this atmosphere was much better (0.75 on 1 (0.48)).



The initiatives of the school to improve the image of the school were rather highly appreciated by both, teachers (0.79 on 1 (0.71)) and head (0.83 on 1 (0.74)). And both teachers (0.60 on 1 (0.52)) and head (0.67 on 1 (0.88)) had the feeling that teachers were rather concerned about participation in decision-making about these actions to improve the image of the school.

According to the teachers, the school climate was rather close to the average picture of all schools in our survey, except for one item, viz. study counselling which was higher in this school than in others (0.59 on 1 (0.44)). Five characteristics were rather similar: the clarity of the regulations (0.58 on 1 (0.58)), dialogue among teachers and head about standards (0.65 on 1 (0.59)), the translation of standards for pupils (0.63 on 1 (0.62)), the regulations about the evaluation of pupils (0.86 on 1 (0.86)), and the socio-psychological counselling (0.56 on 1 (0.59)). In general the head had an higher estimation of these characteristics, except for the socio-psychological counselling of pupils (0.33 on 1 (0.64)). The other scores were as follows: the clarity of regulations 0.70 on 1 (0.73), dialogue among teachers and head about standards 0.59 on 1 (0.77), the translation of standards for pupils 0.67 on 1 (0.72), the regulations about the evaluation of pupils 1 on 1 (0.96), and the study counselling of pupils 0.67 on 1 (0.58).

Teachers and head were also invited to assess ten kinds of school policy from four different standpoints. For two of them, teachers had a lower appreciation than the head, viz. the importance of the school policy for the maintenance of the quality of schooling (the average score of the teachers was 0.82 (0.81) and the score of the head was 0.92 (0.82)), and the importance of school policy for work satisfaction (teachers attained a score of 0.76 on 1 (0.74) and the head 0.92 on 1 (0.85)). When school policy was assessed from two other standpoints the opinions of teachers and head were the same. The meaning of school policy both for the effectiveness of schooling and for satisfaction about school policy got a score of 0.52 on 1 from teachers and heads as well. In comparison with

the average scores of all teachers and heads in the survey these scores were significantly lower.

## § 8. School H

This was the largest school (1,122 pupils; 94% boys and 6% girls) of our sample. This Catholic school was situated in a rather large industrialized town (population 75,000 - 80.000), and has new and renovated buildings. It was a technical and vocational school providing education for the 2nd and the 3rd grade. In the same town pupils could choose among ten other Catholic schools and three Community schools.

The average number of **pupils** in a year was 13.3. and the pupil/teacher ratio was 8.76 (only full-time teachers). 9.1% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, 63.5% part-time, and 27.4 were free of any compulsory education. 18% of the pupils had had to repeat one year in 1992-1993 because of unsatisfactory achievement.

The teaching **staff** had 206 members (128 of them are full-time in this school), the administrative staff had two members, and the maintenance staff eleven. 66%, 50% and 80% respectively had worked in the school for five years or more. Fifty-four of the teachers had been trained at the university, eighty-one in colleges of education, and the rest had had technical and pedagogical special training.

This school was one of the schools included in our case study approach to school policy in twelve schools in 1986-1987 (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989). In that project seven areas of school policy were investigated. This was the basis on which to designate the school policy of school H as segmental, i.e., school H had a clear policy concerning five of the seven areas of

school policy, but this policy was poorly integrated. Decisions taken in relation to the five areas were not always adapted to each other.

In this school, teachers, together with the head, had a word in the appointment of new teachers and decided together on the principles for evaluating pupils. Teachers were also consulted on the recruitment policy of pupils, rationalization and programming, the use of the total of periods, and the organization of the class council (see school J in table 2.3). Taking into account these procedures this school could be typified as having a participatory decision-making structure, i.e. head and teachers decided together about important parts of school policy; communication was top-bottom and reverse; leadership was more interested in groups than in individuals; and teachers participated in formal participatory councils.

## § 9. School I

Situated in a medium-sized rural-urban town (population 35,000 - 40,000) school I (574 pupils) was a mixed school with a majority of girls (97%) and a very small group of boys (3%). In this school pupils could start education from the 1st grade until the 3rd grade, and enjoy general education. Since 1987 the number of pupils had decreased by 13%.

The average number of pupils per year was twenty-two and the pupil/teacher ratio twelve (only full-time teachers). The proportion of pupils no longer obliged to have full-time compulsory education was very small, viz. 1.5%. 49% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, and 49.5% part-time. The average daily school attendance was very high, 98% of boys and girls.

This school attracted the better pupils of the area. Only 0.8% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992-1993. And according to the head only

about 1% of the pupils of the 1st year needed some special educational support. This was confirmed by the figures we collected in 1990-1991 in our survey. At the beginning of the school year the average score of the 1st year pupils of this school for a test in Dutch was 58.19, and for a test in Mathematics 57.49<sup>8</sup>. Only one school scored higher. At the end of the year the scores were 61.08 (the highest score of twenty-three schools) and 57.36 (only one school had a higher score) respectively. This indicates that the average score for Dutch improved significantly during the school year; this was not the case for Mathematics.

The largest proportion of the 1st year pupils of this school was growing up in clerical middle class families (60.3%). The second largest group was of children of the independent middle class children (19.8%), and the smallest the group of the working class children (16.8%). No immigrant children attended the first year of this school.

When we measured the feeling of well-being of the pupils in 1990-1991 the average score of the school was the highest of twenty-three schools and this was the case both at the beginning of the school year (3.48 on 4) and at its end (3.22 on 4). Although this was a significant decline during the school year, it was still a high figure. The scores in the sixth form were lower, as it was in all schools. Yet the scores were above the general average of the twenty-three schools. At the beginning of the school year the score was 2.91 (the general average being 2.85) and at the end of the school year 2.89 (the general average was 2.86).

The staff of the school was composed of sixty-seven teachers (forty-eight of them were full-time in this school), ten administrative staff and pedagogical assistants, and five maintenance staff. Most members of the staff had worked for five years or more in the school (92% of the teachers, 90% of the admini-

<sup>8</sup> These are z-scores with the average score = 50.

strative staff, and all maintenance personnel). Thirty-seven of the teachers had received a training at the university, and thirty in a college of education.

In our survey (1990) of the school policy 65% of teachers answered the questionnaire. First, we describe the opinion of the teachers and the head<sup>9</sup> concerning the participation councils. Comparing the scores of the head and the teachers it becomes clear that the head had a more positive attitude towards these councils than the teachers. The evaluation of the operation of the participatory councils by the teachers attained a score of 0.62 on 1 (0.65), whereas the head attained 0.88 (0.81). Teachers believed on a level of 0.78 on 1 (0.78) that these councils were indispensable for the maintenance of the quality of schooling. The head attained a score of 1 on 1 (0.87). Less than in the other schools teachers were likely to get involved in organizational management of the school, viz. 0.50 on 2 (0.69). On the other hand the head thought that teachers were to a certain extent involved in organizational management of the school (1.11 on 2 (0.91)). The desire to get involved in educational management was also lower than average in this school (1.05 on 2 (1.14)). The head felt that the teachers were rather strongly involved in educational management of the school (1.40 on 2 (1.38)).

The teachers of school I scored the highest on the teacher collaboration scale of all schools of the survey (0.61 on 1 (0.49)). Yet the assessment of fraternal atmosphere among teachers was close to average (0.68 on 1 (0.67)). The head too had a rather high estimation of the collaboration among the teachers (0.73 on 1 (0.55)), although he thought that teachers were not so much concerned about collaboration as in many other schools (0.25 on 1 (0.48)).

Opinion on action to promote the image of the school was rather different between the teachers (0.57 on 1 (0.71)) and the head (0.67 on 1 (0.74)).

<sup>9</sup> In 1993 he had been the head of this school for twenty years.

And so was the assessment of the involvement of the teachers in decision-making about action to promote the image of the school. Teachers felt less involved in these matters (0.52 on 1 (0.52)) than the head thought that they were (1 on 1 (0.88)).

The scores of the indicators of the school climate given by the teachers were mostly a little higher than average, whereas the scores given by the head were mostly lower than average. These are the figures for the six indicators: 1) on the scale of clarity of the regulations the teachers scored 0.57 on 1 (0.58) and the head 0.67 (0.73); 2) on the scale of dialogue among teachers and head about standards teachers scored 0.66 (0.59) and the head 0.72 (0.77); 3) on the scale of the translation of standards to pupils the teachers and the head attained 0.67 (average of all teachers is 0.62 and of all the heads 0.72); 4) on the scale of the regulations about the evaluation of pupils the teachers scored 0.90 (0.86) and the head 0.94 (0.96); 5) on the socio-psychological counselling scale the teachers scored 0.58 (0.59) and the head 0.67 (0.64); and 6) on the study counselling scale of pupils the teachers scored 0.58 (0.44) and the head 1 (0.58).

When the teachers and the head were asked to assess the importance of ten aspects of school policy for the protection of the quality of schooling their answers did not differ very much from the general average, viz. 0.80 (0.81) and 0.85 on 1 (0.86). The assessment of the importance of the ten aspects of school policy for work satisfaction had the same pattern: teachers attained 0.69 on 1 (0.74) and the head 0.82 (0.85). The effectiveness of school policy got a score of 0.58 on 1 (0.61) by the teachers and 0.72 (0.70) by the head. Teachers scored 0.61 on 1 (0.60) on the scale of satisfaction about school policy, whereas the head scored 0.70 (0.68).

### § 10. School J

School J was a Catholic school located in a medium-sized urban-rural town (population 30,000 - 35,000), where it had to compete with three other Catholic schools and one Community school. It was a school offering general education to boys (32%) and girls (68%). The number of **pupils** was very stable during the last five years (437 pupils). The buildings of the school were rather old; the newest part of it was twenty years old.

The average number of pupils per year was about 17. And the pupil/teacher ratio was about 16 (only full-time teachers). 59.9% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education and 37.1% part-time. This school had no immigrant children in the 1st form.

The school had fifty-two **teachers** (twenty-seven of them were full-time in this school), ten administrative and pedagogical assisting staff, and five maintenance staff; 90% of them had worked in the school for five years or more, except the maintenance staff all of whom had been in the school for five years or more. Twenty-five of the teachers had had university training and twenty-seven were trained in a college of education.

### § 11. School K

School K was situated in a relatively large urban industrialized town (population 75,000 - 80,000) and was housed in both old and new buildings (built in about 1900, 1950, 1970 and 1985). In spite of the growth of the number of buildings the number of **pupils** had decreased by 25% during the last five years. The number of pupils was 537, all of them girls. This school provided technical and vocational education for the three grades of secondary education.

The average number of pupils per year was thirteen and the pupil/teacher ratio was eleven (only full-time teachers). 45% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education and 55% part-time. About 6% of the pupils had had to repeat one year in 1992-1993. 5% of the pupils of the first year needed special educational help.

In our survey of 1990-1991, pupils in the first year of this school took a test in Dutch and Mathematics at the beginning and at the end of the school year. The overall standardized average of the pupils on these tests was for Dutch 46.26 at the beginning of the school year, and 46.46 at the end of the school year. For Mathematics these figures were 44.95 and 44.91<sup>10</sup>. In comparison with schools of general education these scores are rather low. This is not unusual because technical and vocational schools attract pupils more interested in technical education than in academic subjects.

The pupils of the 1st year of this school included 30% with a working class background, 28% who had clerical middle class fathers, and 21% with independent middle class fathers. The social background of the rest was unknown. 16% of the first year pupils were immigrant children (3% Moroccan, and 13% Turk).

With regard to the feeling of well-being of the pupils of the 1st year in our survey of 1990-1991 we found an average score of 3.01 on 4 at the beginning of the school year and an average score of 2.93 at the end of the school year. This decrease is not significant, whereas this was the case when we compared the overall average for the twenty-three schools: at the beginning of the year the average was 3.19 and at the end of the year the average was 3.06. In general it was established that the feeling of well-being of the 1st year pupils was decreasing during a school year. The pupils of school K had a lower than

<sup>10</sup> These are z-scores with the average = 50.

average feeling of well-being entering in the school, but during the school year this feeling did not significantly decrease. As in all other schools in our survey the average score of the sixth form pupils was lower than the average scores in the 1st year, viz. 2.90. Yet no change was found between the beginning and the end of the school year, just as in the case of the overall average of the twenty-three schools. Sixth form pupils seem to have adapted to the school so that their feelings about the school no longer changed during the school year.

The school had a teaching staff of 89 (fifty-two full-time), one administrative staff, seven pedagogical helpers, and five maintenance staff. 80% of the teachers had worked in the school for five years or more, and so had 85% of the pedagogical helpers, and 60% of the maintenance staff, and the secretary. Fifty-eight teachers were trained in a college of education, thirty at the university, and one in a school of music. Interestingly, the number of teachers did not diminish very much in a period of five years (in 1987-1988: 93 teachers), although the number of pupils decreased by 25% during the same period.

In our survey of 1990, 65% of the teachers of this school answered the questionnaire on school policy. Teachers (0.77 on 1 (0.65)) and head (0.83 on 1 (0.81)) were rather fond of the operation of the participatory councils, more than the average score of all teachers and heads in the survey. Both teachers (0.88 on 1 (0.78)) and head<sup>11</sup> (0.92 on 1 (0.87)) were also more convinced about the indispensability of these councils for the promotion of the quality of schooling. Teachers were very weakly interested in participating in organizational management (0.45 on 2 (0.69)), and a little more so in participation in educational management (0.91 on 2 (1.14)), although the last figure was much lower than teachers on average. The head thought that teachers were very weakly involved in the organizational management of the school (0.33 on 2 (0.91)) and a little

<sup>11</sup> The head had had five years of experience as head in the school and twenty years as a teacher.

more so in the educational management (1 on 2 (1.38)).

The collaboration of teachers (0.49 on 1) in this school was the same as the general average of all teachers in the survey. On the other hand they thought that the fraternal atmosphere in the school was a little higher than the general assessment by teachers (0.74 on 1 (0.67)). The head had almost the same opinion as the teachers about the collaboration of teachers in her school (0.53 on 1 (0.55)), but she (0.50 on 1 (0.48)) has the feeling that the fraternal atmosphere was lower than the teachers thought it was.

Teachers (0.71 on 1 (0.71)) and head (0.67 on 1 (0.74)) share almost the same opinion about action to promote the image of the school. On the other hand, teachers (0.55 on 1 (0.52)) had the feeling that they were more involved in decision-making about action to promote the image of the school than did the head (0.33 on 1 (0.88)).

Regarding the school climate, it became obvious that the opinion of the teachers in school K was not very different from the general averages of all teachers. These are the figures: 1) the clarity of the regulations for the pupils (0.61 on 1 (0.58)); 2) dialogue among teachers and head about standards for pupils (0.59 on 1 (0.59)); 3) transmission of standards to pupils (0.54 on 1 (0.62)); 4) the regulations about the evaluation of pupils (0.87 on 1 (0.86)); 5) the socio-psychological counselling of pupils (0.58 on 1 (0.59)); and 6) the study counselling of pupils (0.29 on 1 (0.44)). In general the head had a more positive opinion about these indicators than the teachers, mainly for the clarity of the regulations (0.67 on 1), the transmission of standards to the pupils (0.67 on 1), regulations about the evaluation of pupils (0.95 on 1), and both forms of counselling (50.67 on 1).

Asked about the importance of ten forms of school policy teachers (0.82 on 1 (0.81)) had the feeling that they were rather important in promoting the

quality of schooling, and so did the head (0.90 on 1 (0.86)). On the other hand, school policy was less important for teachers' work satisfaction (0.67 on 1 (0.74)), an idea not shared by the head, who thought school policy was important for her work satisfaction (0.90 on 1 (0.85)). The effectiveness of school policy was rather high according to the teachers (0.72 on 1 (0.61)), an idea not totally shared by the head (0.65 on 1 (0.70)). Yet both the teachers and the head attained the same satisfaction score concerning school policy (0.70 on 1 (0.60) and 0.70 (0.68) respectively).

## § 12. School L

Located in a rather large industrialized town (population 75,000 - 80,000), during the last 5 years school L has had a stable number of **pupils** (687; 2% boys and 98% girls). The buildings expanded together with the growth of the number of pupils: they dated from 1914, 1930, 1950, 1961, 1983, 1989. This school offered general, technical and vocational education in three grades. In this town there were ten other Catholic schools and three Community schools.

The average number of pupils per year was about fourteen, and the pupil/teacher ratio was nine (only full-time teachers). 42.5% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, and 36% part-time. The daily attendance of classes was 97.9% for the girls and 95.1% for the boys. The percentage of pupils held back for a year because of failures in 1991-1992 was very low, viz. 0.02%. Yet 5% of the 1st form pupils needed special educational help.

40% of the 1st form children of this school were growing up in working class families, 42% in clerical middle class families, and 18% in independent middle class families. These figures were certainly influenced by the rather

large group of immigrant children in the first form: 27% of Moroccan families and 1% of Turk families.

The **staff** was composed of 128 teachers (seventy-six were full-time in this school), eleven administrative and assisting pedagogical staff, and seven maintenance staff. 95% of the teachers had worked for five or more years in the school, and so had 81% of the administrative staff, and 42% of the maintenance personnel. The head had already had twenty-two years as head of the school.

The smaller part of the teachers had had a university training, viz. 41; 76 were trained in colleges of education, and the others had had a very different training background.

## **Chapter 5. Aims and directions of the school policy**

Although schools are certainly linked to the general patterns of education policy of a country, research made clear that each school has to a certain extent a life different from other schools. Even when university departments of education, colleges of education, the Department of Education or the educational umbrella organizations are the messengers of some common ideas about the aims and directions of education, schools can and do adapt these ideas to their local needs. For that reason the first paragraph will describe how the concept of effectiveness of schooling is interpreted in the schools. The next paragraph will analyse the general philosophy of education of each school, which might be a very important factor shaping local school policy. The third paragraph considers whether schools have a school mission and what its content is. The next paragraphs discuss the standpoint of the schools toward problems of inequality of opportunities for special categories of pupils. Successively the problems of immigrant pupils, the position of girls, and the position of working class children will be introduced. Concerning all these issues attention will be paid to possible changes during the last five years.

### **§ 1. The concept of effectiveness**

Teachers and heads were asked to give their definition of an effective school. Many respondents had difficulties answering this question. They considered the question to be too wide to answer immediately. Most of them tried to give an answer anyway. When respondents failed to give an answer they often referred to the educational goals of the school. The same difficulties were experienced when we asked people about their philosophy of education (see § 2). Respondents referred to their answers on the concept of effectiveness or to the educational goals of the school. They felt that all these concepts, viz. effectiveness, philosophy of education and goals of a school, related to each other. We also noticed that sometimes their view of the concept of effectiveness might rather be interpreted as



the goals of the school, or as a philosophy of education, and vice versa. However, in what follows we will keep these concepts apart and will treat them as they were answered during the interviews.

It should be emphasized that often the same answers were encountered. However not always in the same schools. Teachers and heads sometimes had different opinions with regard to the concept of effectiveness.

**School A** tried to profile itself through the motto 'one aspiration: quality'. In that sentence the view of effectiveness of the principal is summarized. In the view of the head it was very simple: 'An effective school was a school that offered education of high quality'.

The teacher of school A stressed other issues, viz. teachers had to try to work cross-curricular, and it was very important that pupils should like coming to school and that they should develop a sense of belonging.

The head of **school B** considered an effective school to be a school that succeeded in accomplishing its goals. Two main tasks were mentioned. A first task was to teach pupils a profession and a second was to give these children a broader education. A condition for reaching these objectives, and thus to be an effective school, was group loyalty. The head felt that in an effective school head and staff all worked together and supported each other. There could not be divergence between head and teachers. They had to act as a team and always had to be able to speak freely to each other.

The teacher of school B shared this opinion. It was necessary that there should be a kind of group loyalty between head, teachers and pupils, but she doubted whether this idea was easily attainable.

The head of **school C** mentioned five factors that were important for becoming an effective school:

1. a strong educational leadership and goal-directed management;
2. accentuate acquiring basic skills;
3. a tidy and safe climate suitable for education;
4. high expectations for pupil achievement levels;
5. regular evaluation of the progress of the pupils.

In the view of the teacher of school C an effective school was a school where pupils were supported as fully as possible. E.g. pupils with learning difficulties should receive supplementary tuition. To attain these goals teachers should be willing to spend more time at school than strictly necessary. The problem was that not all of them are prepared to do so.

(...) C02: We have a number of teachers at school, and I think you will find them in all schools, who only come to school to earn their wages. If these teachers are asked to spend a little extra time with the pupils they refuse. (...)

The head as well as the teacher of **school D** referred to the goals their school had to attain. An effective school was a school that reached its goals. These will be elaborated under 3.1. *The educational goals* in this chapter.

The principal of **school E** defined an effective school as a school with a pleasant atmosphere among all participants of school life and where pupils were eager to come to school. To achieve this purpose it was very important that there should be a good relationship between pupils and teachers.

The teacher of school E shared the opinion of his principal. However certain teachers hindered the school in achieving this definition of effectiveness. A small

group of teachers was not prepared to spend time at school longer than the hours they already had to teach. Although this was only a small group they did not influence the atmosphere of the school for the better.

The head of **school F** seemed to share the opinion of the former. His view is summarized in the following quotation:

(...) F01: Pupils must like coming to the school. They have to feel at home. They have to have close relationship with the teachers. I think it's important that there is a pleasant atmosphere at school. When these conditions are fulfilled a school can automatically reach its goals. (...)

The teacher of school F referred to the educational goals of the school.

At **school G** the head described an effective school as a school taking care of the complete education of pupils. For that reason a school had to be a reflection of society and therefore had to accept all kinds of pupils. In a school offering general as well as vocational education all kinds of pupils were present, viz. very intelligent as well as less intelligent, and pupils with a different social background. All of them could learn certain things from each other. In that way the school would prepare pupils for their live as adults in our society.

The teacher of school G referred to his view of the educational goals of a school. An effective school was a school that achieved those goals.

At **school H** both head and teacher referred to their views on the educational goals of the school.

The principal of **school I** defined an effective school as a school dominated by an atmosphere of friendship, understanding and collaboration on all levels.

(...) I01: What's an effective school? It's a school where people live and work together and where pupils and teachers have a good relationship to each other. We mustn't forget that they live together for an important part of their life. A school is very important to a child. To work efficiently there is a need of friendship, understanding and collaboration on all levels. (...)

The teacher of school I felt that an effective school should provide education of high quality. By this he meant education which met its educational goals.

To make an effective school, the head of **school J** thought that a school needed solid management in the first place. Solid management is management which tries to reach the maximum output taking into account the input of pupils as well as teachers and available means.

The head of **school K** thought that in order to be effective, it was important for a technical school to be up-to-date. However this created several problems. The lack of financial means prevented a school from being completely up-to-date (see 5.2. *Equipment management* in Chapter 6). The teacher of this school referred to his views on the educational goals of the school.

At **school L** the head referred to the educational goals of the school. The teacher of this school considered an effective school to be a school which not only cared about today and short term goals, but which also looked further. A school had to take its future into account. Next to that, teachers should be able to work in the best circumstances, which contributed to the motivation of teachers and finally contributed, to the education of pupils.

Looking back at these opinions we found **three important categories of definition of effective schools**. First, effective schools were schools able to attain

their targets. **Second**, effective schools were those offering a pleasant climate for the pupils. **Third**, effective schools were those where the head and the teacher had a pleasant cooperation. Two other definitions criss-crossing the above mentioned division, added an additional aspect. One considered an effective school to be a school providing a complete education for pupils. Another one defined effective schools as schools which planned for the long term. Heads and teachers shared these opinions, but not necessarily in the same school.

## § 2. Philosophy of education

Teachers and principals were asked to outline their philosophy of education. As already mentioned above, none of them considered this to be an easy task. Several respondents felt unable to answer this question or referred to their views on an effective school or to the educational goals of the school.

The principal of **school A** argued that children should gather useful knowledge for later life, after they had left school. Every track should offer knowledge that had some relevance for the pupils who attended the courses. While not every course needed to have an immediate function, there should be a clear profiling of the tracks. E.g., pupils studying languages or economics should not be bothered with natural sciences year after year.

The teacher of school A paraphrased his philosophy of education as follows:

(...) A02: At school, one has to support children on their way to adulthood. We try to give them a broader education. Of course pupils come to school to learn certain subjects. We may not forget that we are subject teachers. But a broader education is also important. (...)

The principal of **school B** defined a school as a living thing made by the people in it. He felt that the principal and the teachers should take care of the pupils in many different ways. They could not restrict themselves to school matters. His door was always open for every problem faced by pupils as well as by teachers.

The teacher of school B proclaimed that it was important that pupils and teachers should be honest with each other. She considered it important that both parties be aware of what they might expect from each other. A teacher had to make clear agreements with the pupils and had to adhere to them. The rules should be transparent for all parties at school.

The principal of **school C** demanded discipline and order at school. Transfer of knowledge was only possible in a quiet, orderly and disciplined environment. A school was an institution which had to guarantee the acquisition of knowledge and to achieve this goal one had to be tough from time to time. His way of managing the school was summarized in the following motto: 'Le pouvoir de dire oui, le courage de dire non'.<sup>1</sup>

(...) C01: I start with lots of humanity and lots of understanding. Second, I tell them what has to happen. But third, if that doesn't happen then I am inexorable. The pupils know that if there is a problem I will always talk to them, without shouting. I will always be open to their side of the story. But if they have to come a second time with the same problems, I am very severe. Pupils know what's expected and we don't make an exception for anyone. I can give you a sad example. Last year we expelled the son of a teacher. Whether somebody is the son of a teacher or of somebody else, we don't make a difference. Facts are facts and if we warned pupils but they didn't listen, well then they may leave. (...)

<sup>1</sup>'The power to say yes, the courage to say no.'

The teacher of school C felt that education had to exceed pure transference of knowledge. Schools should help children to shape their personalities. To realize this purpose this teacher tried as much as possible to work with several projects and he spent time with pupils outside classroom hours.

The respondents at **school D** and **school E** referred to the educational goals of their school to describe their philosophy of education and those of **school F** referred to their views of the concept of effectiveness.

The principal of **school G** also referred to his view on the educational goals of the school, and so did the teacher. But he added that education had to try to support pupils in their growth to adulthood. He felt education should teach pupils a universal way of thinking. Pupils had to keep an open mind, e.g., being open to other cultures.

The principal of **school H** thought that a school had to work at relationships in the school. Pupils had to learn how to socialize with other people. They had to learn a sense of responsibility. He felt that a school was not only an institute to teach certain subjects but had to be considered as a 'community'. On the other hand, the teacher of this school referred to the educational goals of the school.

The principal of **school I** preferred a school to deliver quality instead of quantity. People had to gain a clear insight into educational matters rather than to assimilate masses of information.

(...) I01: Apart from the subject matters a school has to teach people how to live. Through education pupils also have to learn how to use the knowledge they gather. They have to open their eyes and look at the world.  
(...)

At **School J** the head felt that education should take place in a friendly environment. Teachers as well as pupils should regard the school as their second home. Teachers could provide education of high quality only when they were supported by the head. The teacher of this school did not answer this question directly, but referred to the educational goals of the school.

The principal of **school K** described her philosophy of education as follows:

(...) K01: A school is comparable with a small community. For that reason we try to teach pupils how to live in harmony with each other. We teach them how to live together, so that they can apply this as adults in their own families, circle of friends and field of activities. (...)

The teacher of school K as well as the respondents at **school L** referred to the educational goals of the school to describe their philosophy of education.

### § 3. School mission

#### 3.1. The educational goals<sup>2</sup>

Schools were asked which educational goals they tried to achieve for their pupils. In what follows we present the answer of each of the schools in our sample. In some schools the head's reaction to this question differed from those of teachers and parents. When necessary we emphasize these differences.

<sup>2</sup> In our 1990 survey we asked teachers and heads to give their top three priorities of nine educational goals (intellectual growth, social maturity, technical and professional growth, religious growth, creativity, health, emotional development, moral consciousness, and cultural values). The teachers came to the following ranking: 1) intellectual growth (0.52), 2) technical and professional growth (0.50), and 3) social maturity (0.30). The ranking by the heads was slightly different: 1) intellectual growth (0.48), 2) social maturity (0.42), and 3) technical and professional growth (0.36) (Verhoeven, e.a., 1992: 90-91).

## 3.1.1. Community schools

The head of **school A** considered that the most important task of his school was to prepare pupils for higher education. His school had to provide pupils with the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to succeed in higher education. In his opinion this had to be the school's main objective.

The teacher of school A, however, emphasized two important objectives. At school pupils had to learn a certain amount of knowledge. In addition to this first and more obvious goal a school had to provide a broader education. Pupils had to learn certain attitudes, e.g., pupils had to know how to behave, had to be able to express themselves and so on. He argued that discipline at school was necessary for a school to reach its goals.

(...) A02: I feel it is very important that there is order and discipline at school. If not, the school will fail in its educational task. I personally insist on discipline in the classroom. I think a teacher can't teach a class of ten to twenty pupils who all act as they please. That's not possible. When teachers are teaching, pupils have to pay attention. That's my opinion. (...)

The parent we interviewed had certain objections towards the goal the head had put forward. He complained that the school was too much orientated towards further education. In his opinion the standards were too high. Objectives too much focused on cramming pupils for higher education, could have a reverse effect. Because of the high standards some pupils were already tired of studying when they left school.

At **school B** the views of head and teacher corresponded perfectly. In their opinion the first and most important objective of the school was to teach an occupation to pupils in vocational education and also to prepare pupils of technical

education for possible higher education. Next to that a school also had a broader educational task. While they felt that the first objective was attained, the latter was not always easy to reach. Not all teachers appeared to be dedicated to this objective to the same extent. While all of them were convinced that pupils had to learn a profession, they were not all equally interested in the broader education of pupils. This appears to depend on the personality of the teachers.

The head of **school C** emphasized the following educational goals. A school had to provide knowledge to the pupils and that was only possible in a disciplined and orderly setting. Next to the transfer of knowledge a school had to be concerned about the transfer of certain attitudes. A school had to train pupils' will and character. The teacher and parent of school C subscribed to the same goals. However some criticism was heard. The parent felt that discipline at school was exaggerated.

(...) C04: The principal wants to provide his school with the image of a top school that attracts the better pupils. He is very much tied to traditional rules. He feels head and teachers should be severe. He wants the school to become a school for the elite and I think he expects too much from his pupils. (...)

At **school D** the head and the teacher agreed that the school had two main objectives. Pupils had to obtain the knowledge necessary to attend further education and next to that a school had to engage in the broader education of pupils. A school has to teach certain attitudes to pupils. None of these objectives were emphasized more than another. Both were equally important in the view of the respondents.

## 3.1.2. Catholic schools

All the respondents that we interviewed at **school E** emphasized that the

Catholic character of the school was still really important. One of the objectives of the school was to transmit certain Catholic values to their pupils. Heads as well as teachers and parents regarded the transfer of these values very highly. Moreover the school had to take care that pupils learnt an occupation in an adequate way. Pupils graduating from school E 'had to be worth their salt'. This could not be achieved merely by providing technical education but depended also on the transmission of certain values.

At **school F**, the Catholic character of the school was also considered to be very important. Head, teachers and parents felt that the Catholic character of the school had to be emphasized. Of course, the school had the task of providing education to pupils. Education however, could not be restricted to mere transference of knowledge. This is expressed in the following quotation:

(...) F01: We are a Catholic school. On the one hand we are an institute for the transference of knowledge but we also have to help young people to grow into adults, we have to provide a broad education. All this belongs to the task of a school. (...)

The head of **school G** also believed that there were several objectives that a school should achieve. The first and most obvious one was to reach the cognitive goals for every year. Pupils had to learn the subject matter for every course. However this was not where the task of a school ends. Being a Catholic school they had to transmit certain values to the pupils. A school could not turn away from its educational task. The teacher of school G had the same opinion with regard to the goals of the school. However, he noted that whereas teachers were trained to transfer knowledge to the children, the broader educational task of teachers was not always so easily to fulfil. He admitted that teachers did not always succeed in this task. With regard to the cognitive task of the school he made a distinction between general, technical and vocational education. General education should prepare pupils

for higher education. A school had the task to teach its pupils everything necessary to succeed in higher education. In technical and vocational education pupils should learn a profession. However teachers could not restrict education to that. However difficult pupils of vocational education may be, a teacher should always try to teach them something more than only practical knowledge.

The principal of **school H** summarized the objectives of his school as follows:

(...) F01: We are a school, we are a technical school and we are a Catholic technical school. (...)

The school had to deliver good technicians and a good technician was formed not only by the knowledge of a certain occupation, but a certain attitude to life was equally important. Consequently, teaching and education had to go together.

(...) H02: In these times, characterized by changes and insecurity a Catholic school has an important task. Not only should a school teach pupils technical skills but they should also help young people to develop themselves in view of their task in the society of tomorrow. Technical knowledge is important, but I think pupils may expect more from their school. We are a Catholic school so we try to give our pupils certain values. Insight, order, a sense of responsibility, friendship, gratitude, austerity, and so on. All these things guarantee a good education. A school should be called community instead of school. (...)

The head of **school I** argued that the main objective of his school was to prepare pupils for higher education. This could be reached by transference of knowledge but pupils also had to acquire a certain attitude. They were equally important. As in the other schools, the head emphasized the Catholic character of the school. In his opinion his school also had the task of transferring certain

Christian values to the pupils. The same attitude was met in the interviews with teachers and parent.

According to the head of **school J** the transfer of knowledge was very important. Pupils had to acquire the knowledge necessary to attend higher education. This had to be the main objective of the school. However, transferring knowledge was not enough to enable pupils to attend higher education. A school had to promote a certain way of living and had to teach certain attitudes so that pupils could adjust to all kinds of situations. As in the former Catholic schools, school J also tried to emphasize its Catholic character. The head as well as the teachers and the parent we interviewed stressed the transfer of Christian values.

At this school the head as well as the teachers mentioned a change with regard to the education of pupils. They felt that the educational task of school J had increased enormously in recent years.

(...) J01: The educational task of the school increases. Parents delegate more and more educational tasks to the school. Consequently the task of teachers is getting more difficult. This damages the transfer of knowledge. We try to look for a middle course. Some people say: 'A school doesn't have to be involved in the education of children', but we feel it is our task to deliver a good product to society. Were we to restrict ourselves to the transfer of knowledge we should produce egoists and individualists and I don't think we should serve the community in that way. We feel the social aspects of education are also important. (...)

The head of **school K** stressed that the main objective of a school should be the transfer of knowledge. But a school could not be restricted to this. A school had to pay attention to the broader education of the children. Pupils had to learn certain values and in a Catholic school these values should be inspired by Christian

ideals. Through the transfer of knowledge teachers might teach their pupils certain values such as justice, solidarity, honesty and so on. The transfer of knowledge and of values could not be separated.

The principal of **school L** described the objectives of the school as follows: every pupil whatever his possibilities had to have the opportunity to develop this potential as far as possible. The task of a school, whether children are attending general, vocational or technical education, was always to give every child the maximum chances to develop his potential. To realize this purpose the subject matter was important but so was everything connected with it. For that reason it was important that throughout all lessons pupils should also receive certain values beside the transfer of knowledge. For a Catholic school, these values should be inspired by Catholic religion. The head, the teachers and the parent we interviewed felt that, in spite of the presence of immigrant children, the Catholic character of the school should still be emphasized.

To conclude this paragraph it should be mentioned that for the last five years none of the schools experienced an important change in its goals. We can conclude that all schools, Community schools as well as Catholic schools, wanted to achieve more or less the same goals for their pupils. Pupils had to learn not only a certain amount of knowledge but also certain values and had to be helped in their growth to adulthood. However some differences were encountered. Schools providing general education often mentioned that their first goal had to be preparing pupils for higher education, while vocational education had the purpose of enabling pupils to take up a certain occupation. For technical education most schools feel both goals were important. While every school regarded it as important that pupils should learn certain values, different values were accentuated. In Catholic schools most respondents told us that Catholic values were important. Values such as solidarity, honesty, responsibility, and so on were part of it. The principal of school C seemed to emphasize values such as hard work, discipline, order, respect, and so



on. We can conclude that while all schools appeared to agree on the broader goals of a school, all of them emphasized different aspects.

### 3.2. The pedagogy of the school

The heads and teacher-representatives in local school council/participation council were asked whether the pedagogy of their school was focused on the pupils or directed rather towards the subject. The answers of heads and teachers did not always correspond with each other. The views of principals and teachers are summarized in figures 5.1. and 5.2.

Figure 5.1. The view of the principals with regard to the pedagogy of the school

Pedagogy is:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
pupil-centered		X		X	X				X		X	
subject-centered			X									
centered to both	X					X	X	X		X		X

Figure 5.2. The view of the teachers with regard to the pedagogy of the school

Pedagogy is:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K <sup>3</sup>	L
pupil-centered				X			X					
subject-centered			X			X			X			
centered to both	X	X			X			X		X		

Whereas most respondents did not have to think long in answering this question it is not always clear what was really meant by their answers. The meaning of a pedagogy focused on pupils was not always interpreted in the same

<sup>3</sup> Answers of the teachers of school K and L with regard to the pedagogy at their school were not available.

way. E.g., the teacher of school B considered that pedagogy was pupil-centered because the subject matter was adjusted to the sphere of interest of the pupils, while the principal of school E felt that they provided pupil-centered education because pupil counselling at the school was very well organized.

The head of school F claimed to provide education that was both pupil-centered and subject-centered. He explained this by the size of the school. As a small school they were able to pay attention not only to the courses, but could focus on the individual pupils as well. However this explanation was not applicable to all other schools. Small as well as rather large schools mentioned being pupil-centered.

In several schools (schools B, E, G, F, and I) the view of principal and teachers did not correspond. E.g., at school F the principal felt both kinds of pedagogics were important while the teacher claimed that the pedagogy was rather subject-centered. Acceptability of both approaches was entertained by some teachers, but the head was aware that others did not share this opinion. Whether teachers used more pupil-centered or subject-centered teaching methods was connected with their personality. The head of school I considered that they had a rather pupil-centered education whereas the teacher was afraid that the pedagogy was rather subject-centred. The teacher however was aware of the wish of the principal to provide pupil-centered education but felt that this was still difficult to realize in practice.

(...) I02: The principal expects us to provide pupil-centred education. But I am afraid we are still too much focused on the subject matter. We all feel the need for such a pupil-centred education but it is difficult to realize. (...)

It is remarkable that all respondents experiencing pedagogy focused on the subject felt that this should change and that a pupil-oriented pedagogy was preferable. The reason why pedagogy was rather directed towards the subject instead

of on the pupils was often found in teacher training. Most teachers still received a training that was focused on the educational content in particular. Teachers were also bound to the curriculum which they had to get through. Lack of time still forced a lot of teachers to focus on the subject more than on the pupils.

It has to be emphasized that only two teachers claimed to provide pupil-centered education, whereas five principals did. Only one principal considered that the pedagogy at his school was rather subject-centered, while three teachers did so. The remark recounted above might be a possible explanation for this difference. It is possible that principals expected their staff to provide pupil-centered education but that teachers felt unable to realize this in practice yet. The quotation of the teacher of school I points in that direction.

### 3.3. The school work plan

The school work plan consists of intentions, standpoints, agreements and measures that refer to goals, contents, design and organization of education and teaching. It is given a concrete form in a plan of attainable, visible and assessable initiatives.<sup>4</sup> Schools will have to create their own school work plan in the future.<sup>5</sup>

At most schools which we visited the school work plan was not yet drawn up. Most schools only recently started to develop their school work plan. Several opinions were met regarding its importance.

<sup>4</sup> Mededelingen NVSKO - bijlage 1 M. 17 maart 1993, K1.10.23, p.1

<sup>5</sup> At all the Community schools which we visited the members of the pedagogic college were drawing up the school work plan. It is not clear which councils or participants in school life were to work at the school work plan in Catholic schools.

All respondents agreed that the content of the school work plan was always known by all participants at school but was not written down. Every school had its goals, contents, design and organization of education and teaching. Depending on their idea of the utility of the school work plan (which will be mentioned in what follows), they considered the writing down of these goals as a necessity.

A first group of respondents failed to see the importance of the school work plan. They feared the school work plan would become yet another paper that would not be used in practice. They claimed that nobody really knew what was expected from the school work plan, with the result that everybody was waiting until they could acquire an example from another school. In that way the school work plan would become yet another formality schools have to fulfil and would only cause a lot of extra work.

(...) B01: I have already seen a few examples of school work plans of other schools ... They take copies from one or another educational book and it becomes so theoretical that nobody understands a single word of it. They involve a few names from specialists of education and the average teacher is not able to understand it. (...)

(...) F01: I think this school work plan will be too theoretical to use in practice. I think it will become another 'lay-paper'. (...)

Some respondents believed that the school work plan would be useful. They felt it could be interesting to write down the broader mission of the school to which the school has always been committed. The head of school K for instance felt it could be interesting for new teachers to receive a written copy of the specific objectives and mission of the school. The teacher at school F also felt the need for such a school work plan.

(...) F02: We lack a broader vision at school. We all work too much according to our own vision. It is not clear what the school as a whole is trying to reach. I hope this would improve with the school work plan. But it should be used. It makes no sense to put everything on paper and leave it at that. (...)

Respondents of this group felt that the school work plan would force the schools to reflect on their most important goals and tasks, how they might be reached and how they would enable all respondents to act in accordance with the same ideas. When these things were not written down it was not always clear for all participants in school life what the exact goals of the school were. In their opinion this could improve the quality of education.

A third group of respondents agreed with the former that a school work plan could be an important instrument for the improvement of education in their school. However they feared that this document would not be used in practice. In that way the school work plan would only involve the schools in extra work.

Another reaction towards the school work plan might be described as neutral. These respondents mentioned that their school was working on a school work plan but they made no special remarks pro or contra.

Finally there were several teachers who were not informed about the existence of a school work plan. Some of them had never even heard of the concept.

Figure 5.3. The view of principals concerning the school work plan

Position towards the school work plan:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
neutral	X				X				X			X
will not be used		X	X			X						
positive				X							X	
positive in theory							X	X		X		
not informed												

Figure 5.4. The view of teachers concerning the school work plan

Position towards the school work plan:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
neutral	X											
will not be used			X									
positive						X						
positive in theory							X			X		
not informed		X		X	X			X	X		X	X

§ 4. Equality of opportunities for immigrant children <sup>6</sup>

The schools in our sample may be divided into three groups with regard to the presence of immigrants. Schools A, B, C, E, G, I, and J had few immigrant pupils or none at all. At school H the number of immigrant pupils in the first year was less than 10 %. At school D 64% of the pupils in the first year were of foreign origin, at school L there were 28% immigrant pupils and at school F and K

<sup>6</sup> Immigrant children are defined here as children descended from South European or from non-European Mediterranean families and from Turkey.

respectively 14% and 16%.

Figure 5.5. Community schools: Percentage of immigrant pupils in the first year

Community schools	A	B	C	D
Percentage of immigrant pupils in the first year	0 %	1 %	0.32 %	64 %

Figure 5.6. Catholic schools: Percentage of immigrant pupils in the first year

Catholic schools	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Percentage of immigrant pupils in the first year	0 %	14 %	0 %	? <sup>7</sup>	0 %	0 %	16 %	28 %

The differences in approach found in the twelve schools we visited was not very strongly linked to the network of the school. For that reason Community schools and Catholic schools are treated together in this paragraph. However, reactions to the problems concerning the presence of these immigrant children differed in the three groups mentioned above. For that reason we follow the foregoing categorization to elaborate this paragraph.

#### 4.1. Schools with few immigrant pupils

With regard to the schools where only a few or no immigrant pupils were registered we can be very brief; consideration of issues concerning this topic was restricted to courses such as religion and history, or co-operation with projects such as the project on tolerance of the 'Koning Boudewijnstichting'. The teachers tried to pay some attention to this issue in general but as the schools had no immigrant pupils the problem does not really arise.

#### 4.2. A school with less than 10% immigrant pupils

Although the number of immigrant pupils at school H was rather restricted some measures had been taken.<sup>7</sup> While in the first grade at school H several measures had been taken to reduce the problem, and they had entered the innovation project and have had close contacts with local organizations for immigrants, in upper secondary school the measures were rather limited. It should be noted that none of the respondents had experienced any special problem with immigrant pupils. Measures that had been taken all related to the parents of those children. Since most of these parents had difficulties with the language, school H, called on organizations for immigrants to act as mediators between school and parents.

#### 4.3. Schools with more than 10% immigrant pupils

Just as in school H, school K relied on organizations for immigrants as go between between school and parents. Moreover, school regulations in school K had been translated and special parents' evenings for parents of immigrant pupils had been organized.

At schools D, L, and F also some other measures have been taken to resolve the problems connected with the presence of these immigrant children in the school

<sup>7</sup> At school H we included only the second and the third grade in our research. The first grade was accommodated in separate buildings and was considered a different school according to the administration. It is remarkable that in the first grade there were more than 10% immigrant pupils and in the second and third grade the number of immigrant pupils decreased. The principal assumed that this was due to the high level of education at the school and the strong discipline. Most of the immigrant pupils left the school after the first grade.

context. These schools participated at the 'innovation project' (innovatie-project).<sup>8</sup> This project for secondary education consisted of three action fields. A first field was called 'educational priority policy' (onderwijsvoorrrangsbeleid). The purpose of this programme was to eliminate disadvantage in learning by linking the education into the socio-cultural characteristics of the pupils. One of the programmes that tried to attain this aim was NT2 or 'Dutch as second language' (Nederlands als Tweede taal). A second action field was known as 'OETC or education in his/her own language and culture' (Onderwijs in Eigen Taal en Cultuur). The purpose of this programme was to offer pupils with a different ethnic-cultural background the possibility of developing their own identity. This meant that part of the subjects was taught in the native language by teachers of the same origin, and another part was taught in Dutch. A last programme was called ICO or 'intercultural education' (Intercultureel onderwijs). This programme aimed to teach all pupils how to deal with ethnicity in view of the interaction between ethnical groups and individuals in a multi-cultural society. The views on this project differed at the different schools and not every project was thought to be unmistakably effective. We met two different reactions. At school D the principal as well as the teacher-representative of the local school council were very enthusiastic. They were participating in 'NT2' and in the 'ICO'-project. NT2 seems to have had especially good results although it was too soon to judge them. The project in school D started this school year (1992-1993). We should mention that the respondent in school D was the teacher of Dutch who worked with this project

<sup>8</sup> Schools wanting to participate at the innovation project had to fulfil several conditions. The first and most important condition was that the target group had to consist of at least twenty pupils or 10% of the total population of the first grade. The target group was defined as following: Target group pupils are pupils who have learning and/or developmental problems because of their ethnic origin or the socio-economic or cultural characteristics of their home. Translated technically a target group pupil is: "pupils in secondary education of the first grade:

- whose grandmother on the mother's side was not born in Belgium and not in the possession of Belgian or Dutch nationality by birth and
- whose mother had received education at the most till the end of the school year at which she became 18 years old. ('Besluit van de Vlaamse Executieve houdende maatregelen tot uitvoering van het onderwijsbeleid voor migranten in het voltijds secundair onderwijs van de eerste graad van 5 juni 1991', *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 01/11/91: IV-203 - IV-208)

himself. In the other schools participating in the project we had to rely on the comments of teachers that were not directly involved in the project and as a consequence were less informed. It appeared that this innovation project has been a stimulus for school D. Several other measures regarding immigrant pupils have only started this year (1993-1994). The principal of school D:

(...) D01: With parents of immigrant children we have contacts from this year on within the frameworks of that innovation project ... We work with the P.M.S.-centres, with interpreters. Those people make house to house calls with the social worker of the P.M.S.- centre to interpret. If we have problems we contact these people, they make house to house calls. They try to get these people to come to the school, they come and indeed these problems get solved here. We organized special evenings for parents of immigrants, a Turkish evening and a Moroccan evening where we tried to make these people conquer their initial resistance. We gave these people a good reception and a lot of people were present. (...)

The principal of school F was not very enthusiastic about the project which was too theoretical according to his teachers. School F also participated in NT2 and the ICO-project. OETC was not considered suited for school F:

(...) F01: OETC is not working. I don't see it coming off that I am going to get someone to teach here ... I don't see it coming off. First one can't choose this teacher, second most of them don't speak Dutch and third concerning those languages, Arabian for example, those children don't understand it anymore. (...)

Nevertheless he expected a positive change in the future. The main advantage of the project were the extra hours granted to the schools. The principal of school F even admitted that the only reason why they had entered into the project

was the extra hours. As a consequence he expected that if these hours were to be abolished the school would probably leave the project. The comment at school L may be summarized as following. The innovation project was not really necessary but provided certain opportunities. At school L already some measures had been taken to deal with the problem before the innovation project. We should mention that school L had the largest number of immigrant pupils in the school. This could explain the special interest in the topic.

(...) I: And did there exist some measures before the innovation project?

L01: Yes, we have always worked very hard at that problem, the deputy head is someone who works on this with all his heart, takes care of the children, makes house to house calls, oh yes, yes. For us this innovation project was not necessary to do something for the immigrant children, but if it is available, we like to use it, because it gives us more possibilities. (...)

One of the disadvantages of the innovation project was the frequent and long meetings teachers had to attend after their working hours. A frequently heard comment was that the project was too great a burden for the teachers because of these long and inefficient meetings which discouraged them. The principal of school F:

(...) F01: I don't think that it is lost energy we've put in this project, I don't think so. But the problem with the innovation project ... the management of this project likes to hold meetings and teachers don't. Teachers don't like to go to Leuven on a Wednesday afternoon, even if they have hours off for it. It would be different if the output of these meetings were high. (...)

Another disadvantage of the innovation project was mentioned by the school head of school L. The administration and the regulations were so strict that they obstructed the smooth running of the school.

(...) L01: That innovation project helps for certain things, it gives you more opportunities. You can, for instance, reduce the class size. But on the other hand, if one wants to achieve something (...) it is so strict and so regulated, such a strait-jacket that you should say, I don't want those hours, I prefer to do it on my own, but you have to write a report of everything ... and hold meetings. (...)

As already mentioned above (schools H and K) several of these schools co-operated with various kind of organizations for immigrants. These organizations were immigrant youth clubs and other local initiatives for the integration of immigrants. Schools used these organizations as mediators between the school and parents of immigrant children who often did not speak Dutch. Sometimes they had direct contact with the parents for individual cases, sometimes they acted as interpreters on parents' evenings or open days. At schools D, L, and F they were also able to make an appeal for interpreters at the psycho-medical-social centres for the translation of certain documents such as the school regulations. We should add that this measure was met in every school, with the exception, of course, of those with very few or no immigrant children. Schools D, F, and L, as well as schools H and K, made an appeal to these organizations or to P.M.S. centres to act as mediators between the school and the parents.

Only one of the schools had a restricted admission policy for immigrant pupils: school L was selective in its intake. Not all the immigrants wanting to enrol in the school were admitted. In order to stimulate the integration of these pupils they admitted only a certain percentage of immigrant students to every class. In the past, certain classes in 'BSO' or vocational secondary education were entirely filled with immigrant pupils. Up till now, immigrants still chose especially vocational secondary education with the consequence that the number of immigrants in these branches had to be restricted. This problem was not mentioned in the other schools.

Another problem bears upon the religious education of these immigrant children. In our sample we had two types of reactions to this problem. First we have to make the distinction between Catholic schools and Community schools. Community schools had to accept all pupils who wanted to enrol. Immigrant pupils could take courses in their own religion, and had special teachers for this purpose. At the Catholic schools we found two types of reactions to this problem. All schools accepted immigrant pupils but school L, as already mentioned above, had a restricted admission policy towards them. In the other schools, such a limitation did not exist but the expectations towards the behaviour of the immigrant students differed. We can divide the schools into two types concerning this issue. Most of the Catholic schools attended regularly the celebration of the eucharist. On the one hand, we had the schools where the immigrant pupils were free to attend this celebration (schools F and K). At school L the school head insisted that every pupil enjoyed the same treatment even with respect to religious education. We have to stress that in all the Catholic schools that we visited no special arrangements were made for courses of religion. All immigrant children had to attend the courses in religion but at school F teachers allowed for differences in religion. For example teachers of religion paid attention to the Koran. A teacher of school F:

(...) F02: Recently, at the beginning of the Lent, we had a project for 'Broederlijk Delen'. A priest came to give a reflection. I personally thought it was very good, the way he has handled that. He compared the Lent as existed in the past in our regions with the Islamitic Lent. (...)

At school L one of the teachers suggested giving immigrant pupils the chance to follow Islamitic religion, but the school head and several other teachers were strongly opposed.

(...) L01: But I tell you, if they come to our school they have to do everything we do. I have certain classes almost exclusively populated with

immigrant pupils, I don't take an adjusted curriculum for religion, they get what we have got for everyone, yes. (...)

Although the head of school L claimed immigrant children had to join every activity at the school, we noticed that, as in the two other schools, certain exceptions were made. For example immigrant children were excused swimming lessons (school L) or trips on which pupils had to spend the night away from home (school K) because parents claimed that their religion did not allow this. So we had to conclude that each of these schools took these differences of religion into account in one way or another.

To conclude this paragraph on the equality of opportunities for immigrant children figure 5.7 summarizes the most important measures schools implemented to take care of the specific problems of immigrant pupils.

Figure 5.7. Measures taking account of the specific problems of immigrant pupils

measures	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Attention to the problem in certain courses	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
immigrant organizations act as mediators between school and parents								X			X	
translation of certain school documents into the language of the parents				X		X					X	X
restricted admission policy for immigrant pupils												X
participation in the innovation project				X		X						X



### § 5. Equality of opportunities for different gender

Most of the schools did not pay special attention to this issue. Teachers as well as principals did not consider this to be a problem. Especially in the Community schools they no longer saw it as a problem. Boys and girls had been mixed for so long in their schools that neither heads nor teachers thought it necessary to pay special attention to this issue. There was only one exception to this rule: school L participated in a project of diversification of the different disciplines. The principal of school L:

(...) L01: Yes, I think that's a chapter apart, equal opportunities. We participate with our school in a project, the diversification of the disciplines for girls in general secondary education and vocational secondary education, because we still have a long way to go. The girls always go to the soft branches. That is a fact. But we can't push them all in the hard branches (sectors) ... I have somebody who is free for a few hours to follow the project. A few years ago we had a research from Prof. Vandenberghe, about the choice of course by the girls in our school and it appeared that if there were others disciplines the girls would choose them, but as there weren't any other they choose what was available. We had a few good meetings. They said we had to find a boys' school to collaborate with for those disciplines. But the boys' school had said: 'O.K., let the girls come to us'. The mentality of society towards these problems is still very primitive. How does one come to another view? I don't know, it's a long way, you have to believe in it and you have to say: 'Now we have to handle it differently'. (...)

### § 6. Equality of opportunities for social classes

The question whether schools took into account differences in social class among pupils may be answered on different levels. All schools had information about the social background of their pupils. If they lacked certain information they could make an appeal to the P.M.S.-centre.

In almost every school we have heard the comment that the management team was very careful with this information. Both principals and teachers who were involved, handled this kind of information very discretely. This was considered normal and essential for all the participants in the school. A teacher of school H even thought that this discretion was necessary in order that teachers should retain their objectivity towards pupils:

(...) H03: It's possible that the board has certain arrangements for people with financial problems but we are uninformed. People immediately contact the board and they keep it between themselves, and nobody has to know ... when I know that a student can't pay for his books, that he gets them for free or that the school lends them to this pupil. That's something I don't have to know because unconsciously maybe you will adjust your attitude ... It's for the best that this doesn't happen. (...)

As already appears from this quotation certain measures existed to help children with financial problems. These measures were taken in every school we visited but in very different forms. Most of the schools had a 'social fund' or a 'society of friends of the Community schools' to deal with this problem. These means were used to pay school bills or to permit pupils to join school trips. Other measures were not really available.

This financial help was a possibility that was not used frequently in most of our schools. Most of the principals agreed that it was difficult to judge whether somebody had real financial problems.

For all problems other than financial problems concerning this issue most schools sent the pupils to the P.M.S.-centres.<sup>9</sup> E.g., the head of school B told us that if pupils had problems they could always come to him to talk them over. For cases which could not be solved by a conversation with these pupils the P.M.S.-centre was contacted. He felt that these centres were better fitted to provide medical, social or psychological help than were teachers or heads.

<sup>9</sup> The P.M.S.-centres are in charge of the psychological, medical and social guidance of pupils. In general these centres have the following tasks:

- To contribute to the improvement of the psychological, psycho-pedagogical, medical, para-medical and social circumstances of the pupil and of his/her immediate pedagogical environment and thus to offer the pupils maximal chances with regard to the development of his/her personality and his/her individual and social well being.
- To give information and advice on educational and vocational possibilities to the pupils, the persons who exercise parental power, the school authorities and all others who are directly involved with the education of the pupils and thus to promote the process of individual choice by the pupils.
- To guarantee multi-disciplinary research and draw up the report for registration necessary for admission to the suitable type of special education (Onderwijsgids, Deel I/4. Leerlingenbegeleiding Aflevering 17, september 1989: 1 - 4).

## Chapter 6. The Organization of school policy

Last chapter presented a picture of the aims and directions of school policy in twelve schools. The question we seek to answer in this chapter is: how do schools organize the decision-making in the school and how do they manage the different educational resources to improve the effectiveness of schooling? This question leads us successively to: 1) the analysis of the participation of teachers, parents and pupils in the decision-making structure of the school; 2) the relations of the school with parents, pupils and local community; 3) the management of the teachers as one of the main educational resources; 4) the use of the support offered by the new inspectorate and by the pedagogical counselling services; 5) the financial and equipment management; and 6) the organization of the curriculum and the evaluation of pupils. During the last five years much has changed with respect to some of these factors. What the consequences of these changes may be for the effectiveness of schooling are investigated in chapter 7.

### § 1. Participation of teachers, parents and pupils

#### 1.1. Participation councils and local school councils

In this paragraph we focus on the operation of the local school councils and the participation councils as instruments of participation. Before describing the participation of the factions represented in these councils, we elaborate the view of the members on the operation of these councils as such.

First we have to draw attention to the different operations of participation councils and local school councils. We have already mentioned the main differences in chapter 1 (3.1. *New participatory structures*). We stress these differences again in order to understand the variety of views of all participants of Community and of Catholic schools.

A local school council is established in each Community school or group of schools grouped together for geographical, pedagogical or infrastructural reasons. Four factions are represented. The head of the school, the teachers, the parents and the local economical, social and cultural organizations are member of the local school council. These local school councils have overall powers concerning the general management, pedagogical matters, staff policy, financial and equipment management.

The same factions are represented in the participation councils, but here participation in the decision-making of the schools is more restricted. This council has only advisory power. The participation council does not eliminate the responsibility of the organizing authority or the head, it only creates a forum of deliberation for all participants in school life (see Chapter 1).

Regarding the operation of these councils in general, we rely solely on the views of principals concerning this issue. The opinions of the other respondents were related more to the participation of the different factions, and these will be elaborated separately.

#### 1.1.1. Local school councils

With the establishment of the local school councils the autonomy and responsibility of local schools increased extensively. While for a long time decision-making in Community schools was in the hands of the Ministry of Education, it has now become a matter for the ARGO and the local school councils. Starting from 1 April 1991 local school councils were able to plan the decision-making in their school (Klasse, nr. 13, maart '91, p.6).

In spite of other criticisms, none of the principals were opposed to the widened local autonomy that went with the establishment of the local school

councils. In particular the increased financial autonomy of Community schools met with the approval of the schools. In chapter 7 we elaborate the view of principals and teachers on this increased autonomy in these areas.

All principals agreed that the widened autonomy was a step forward for Community schools. In practice, however, the local school councils were confronted with several problems. They were expected to discuss school policy in general, but should not interfere with matters of daily management because that made them inefficient and unwieldy instruments. While school D appeared to have succeeded in this intention, the principals of schools A, B, and C had some difficulties concerning this issue.

(...) B01: I will tell you what I think. The local school council should be occupied with decision-making. Decision-making of the school in general, improvements of the management, for example mapping out the campaigns for publicity, or other matters such as the buildings, but real policy and not things like 'What do the children eat today?' or 'The refrigerator is defective' ... The local school council shouldn't interfere with those matters.  
(...)

It should be stressed that the operation of the local school councils differed greatly from school to school. At schools A and B in particular the principals had difficulties with their local school councils. At these councils, conflicts and arguments were legion and principals thought that members of the councils interfered too much with matters of daily management.

In contrast with these councils, the local school council of school D apparently operated very well. In the view of the principal no real arguments occurred and decisions were always made by consensus.

(...) D01A: We have been working with the local school council for two years and during that period we had no real arguments. We always reached a consensus. The principals, we are three, our representative director, the principal of the primary school and I, we experience this as very positive ... And I have to admit it's all very serious, we don't keep busy with banalities, they are serious problems, they are really serious problems. (...)

### 1.1.2. Participation councils

While the decision-making power of the local school councils in Community schools was rather far-reaching, the participation councils in Catholic schools had only advisory power.

A first remark with regard to the participation councils proceeds from this restricted power. Besides the participation council, several other advisory councils exist. An inflation of advisory councils occurs: pupils' councils, staff meetings, staff committees, parents' councils, etc. Often principals did not see the use of all these meetings giving advice on the same topics.

(...) L01: So what do we do, inform people, always informing. I have seven meetings where I always have to repeat the same things. But o.k., if they think that improves the school I will do that, I will say it seven times ... (...)

This induced most schools to restrict meetings to the legally prescribed three a year. Consequently these meetings have a rather informative character. Three times a year all factions meet and are informed about the main decisions and events in school life. The idea of participation is lost by the restriction of meetings in this way.

However it should be stressed that principals did not consider this to be problematic. The real participation of all participants, which was necessary for a school, occurred at the other advisory councils. In consequence, the participation councils were frequently seen as a redundant organ.

Another problem occurred in participation councils where several schools were represented. These councils were 'overcrowded' which obstructed their efficient operation.

(...) E01: The only problem that I had with the participation council is the number of members and that's something the personnel has decided. They had to decide on this matter and then there had to be an equal number of representatives of every faction. They choose for two representatives for each school. We are three schools, so that makes six. So that means there are six members of each faction. That makes 24 people and it's an unmanageable organ. That's an objection I have against the participation council. (...)

### 1.1.3. Participation of teachers

With regard to the participation of teachers in Community and Catholic schools we differentiate between the views of principals and teachers. As parents were not systematically questioned on this topic, their view on the participation of teachers will not be elaborated.

#### 1.1.3.1. Participation of teachers in Community schools

##### 1.1.3.1.1. Heads

In the past, heads were already familiar with the participation of teachers at

the school. Before the establishment of the local school councils heads were already accustomed to a staff meeting and other participatory councils. Whereas not every principal was happy with the operation of these local school councils, as already indicated, none of them was opposed to the presence of teachers in this council. All principals appeared to agree that school policy was not the responsibility of the head alone. While the operation of the local school councils was criticized from several standpoints, the need for the presence of teachers in these councils was taken for granted.

#### 1.1.3.1.2. Teachers

What did the teachers themselves think about their participation in the local school council? All teachers shared the view that participation in school policy was very important. Not only was it thought necessary that teachers, being important participants in school life, should have their part in school policy, but increasing participation was also believed to improve the atmosphere at school and to stimulate the involvement of teachers. A teacher of school A:

(...) A02: I have the impression one feels more committed to the school if one has something to say about the school policy. It's rather logical, isn't it? People are more inclined to do things apart from their assignment. (...)

Only one of the teacher-representatives in the local school council was of the opinion that the level of teacher-participation had not been increased by the establishment of the local school councils (school B). While the others were convinced of the opposite they also voiced strong criticism of the rule that teachers had to leave the meeting when staff matters were discussed.

(...) D02A: ...but when they talk about the staff, then we have to leave the room. For example we had to appoint a principal ad interim, but we had to

leave the meeting. That's something that, I think, is wrong. On the one hand I don't mind but the baker and the postman can decide. I think the teachers could help there, they know the candidates, but yes they are colleagues (...) Why did they decide that, you have to judge colleagues, that's not always easy, I agree ... But now the baker and the postman have to do this ... that's something that disturbs some teachers. (...)

#### 1.1.3.2. Participation of teachers in Catholic Schools

The participation councils have no decision-making power. They have only advisory power. They should meet at least three times a year. It should be acknowledged that in most schools the participation council had gathered only about five times at the time of our interview. Thus, these councils are still rather young.

##### 1.1.3.2.1. Heads

As in Community schools, none of the principals of Catholic schools was opposed to the idea of participation of teachers in the decision-making process as such of the school. However, according to the principals the participation council was not thought to be the right organ for this. Views towards the participation of teachers in the participation council differed. Figure 6.1 shows that the principals of schools G, K, and L considered the representation of teachers in the participation councils positive. The principals of schools E, F, H, and I, however, felt these participation councils to be unnecessary. Several other participatory councils already gave teachers the opportunity to participate in decision-making in these schools and this council interfered with matters already discussed in other councils.

It should be recognized that these other participatory councils did not focus on areas of organizational management but on rather typical pedagogical issues. The principal of school F in particular was convinced that teachers were less interested

in matters of school management and more in strictly educational matters.

(...) F01: Teachers don't know what happens in the participation council. The report is available but ... Teachers don't consider the participation council as an efficient instrument, they are more interested in their own council (staff council) I think because more matters concerning situations at school, staff, teachers, pupils, are discussed ... It is much easier to discuss it there. They know the participation council exists ...

I: And do they receive information from their representatives at the participation council?

F01: Yes ... but we meet so little, there is not much to report. (...)

In these schools the participation council had not replaced the other advisory councils. Instead of abolishing these overlapping councils, the participation council was established as a rather passive organ.

In contrast with these schools, the principal of school J considered it possible that in the future the participation council would replace these other participatory councils.

Figure 6.1. The participation of teachers in the participation council: The view of principals

Participation of council is:	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
positive			X				X	X
redundant	X	X		X	X			
other participatory councils are redundant						X		

The decree with regard to participation does not determine how far the power of the participation councils should reach. It seems that schools are rather guided by agreements between NSKO and Teachers Unions with regard to the power of the participation council. Members of the participation council may assert the right to information, to exercise advisory power and power of negotiation, and the right to grant or withhold approval. In practice however, none of the schools went further than to exercise the right on information and advisory power. In the participation councils, teachers have the right to advise, not to decide. The principal of school J however claimed that the participation council was not restricted to advisory power.

#### 1.1.3.2.2. Teachers

Since teachers have only advisory power in matters discussed at the participation council, most of the teachers considered it as yet another council that only involved them in extra work:

(...) I03: Well it is nothing more than another advisory organ. For those who are members of the participation council it is one more obligation ... I don't think they have that much influence. It remains a construction on paper ...

Most of these teachers did not think that the participation of teachers had increased with the establishment of the participation council. They considered it more as an organ that provides information for teachers.

It should be said, however, that the teachers were aware of the fact that this could change in the future. The participation council had met for only about three to five times. They suggested that within a few years the role of this council might change. At the juncture, teachers had more faith in staff meetings.



At that time, all the teachers considered the participation council redundant. However, the reason why they did so varied. Figure 6.2 summarizes these views. A first group of teachers felt that they already participated through several other participatory councils and believed that the advisory participation council did not offer them anything new. That did not imply that they did not want more participation in the decision-making of the school, but that the participation council did not offer them that opportunity (schools E, F, H, I). This assessment opposed the view of the principals who thought teachers were interested only in strictly educational matters. A second group did not feel that the participation council overlapped other participatory councils but saw little change ensuing from the establishment of the participation council. They stressed the fact that teachers had only advisory power in this council (schools J, K, L). Only one extreme negative reaction was heard. The teacher-representative of school G was of the opinion that the participation council was a total failure. He considered the participation councils to be nothing more than agencies for information. School problems noticed by teachers were ignored and if a teacher tried to force a view that did not correspond with the view of the principal or the organizing authority, the principal had several opportunities afterwards to punish him for that, e.g. this teacher suggested that this had already happened in the past, but he provided no example.

Figure 6.2. The participation of teachers in the participation council: the view of the teachers

Participation council:	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
overlaps with other advisory councils	X	X		X	X			
does not change the existing participation structure						X	X	X
is a failure			X					

It should be noted that most of the teachers who were not members of the participation council themselves had little interest in the operation of this council.

While in every school, teachers had the possibility of looking into the reports of these councils, since they were available in staff rooms, most of them knew little about it.

It is remarkable that while in the other schools the views of principals and teachers concerning this issue seemed to correspond, the principal and teacher of school G had completely different opinions. While the principal claimed that he regarded the participation of teachers as a positive and self-evident matter, the teacher had the feeling that teachers were not taken seriously and were only allowed to defend the same opinions as the principal and the organizing authority. Other opinions were ignored or not tolerated.

#### 1.1.4. Participation of parents

With regard to the participation of parents in the school's process of decision-making, we present the opinions of principals, teachers and parents themselves.

##### 1.1.4.1. Participation of parents in Community schools

###### 1.1.4.1.1. The heads

Only one principal of the four Community schools was enthusiastic about the representation of the parents in the local school councils. In his opinion parents made a positive contribution to the operation of the school. Parents were able to throw a different light on school policy (school D).

At the three other schools we visited the comments were less positive (school A, B, C). A frequently heard critique was that these parents were not competent to participate in the decision-making structure of the schools. The head of school A especially was very negative about this participation by parents in particular and



of the local school council in general:

(...) A01: The principal is submitted to the judgement of people that are not competent to talk about certain things and instead of obtaining the necessary information they criticize. That is my opinion. (...)

School B had no representative of the parents in the local school council. Parents got an invitation to stand for the local school council but there was no response.<sup>1</sup> The principal did not consider this to be a detriment to school policy. In his view parents had difficulties in acting out of common interest. Parents were interested in the local school council because they considered it as an opportunity to represent the interests of their own children.

#### 1.1.4.1.2. The teachers

In general teachers were more positive about the participation of parents in the local school councils. None of the teachers criticized the participation of parents. They all appeared to agree that in their school this had had a positive influence on school policy. The presence of these 'outsiders' made it more difficult for principals and the organizing authority to maintain certain harmful situations. Alongside the teachers there was now another controlling party and parents could be considered as allies.

#### 1.1.4.1.3. The parents

How did parents experience their participation? The parent-representative of school D was the only one who was convinced that the participation in the decision-making had really increased. The local school council of school D seemed

<sup>1</sup> The principal suggested that the reason for this lack of interest of parents for the decision-making in the school was connected with the high proportion of lower class children. In his opinion parents of these children were less interested in these matters.

to work very efficiently.

(...) D04: Well, I am convinced that ... I used to be a member of the parents' council and that's all wonderful and they do a good job, but they have no participation whatsoever in the decision-making of the school. With the local school council it's different. They can change certain things. I have experienced this myself. The local school council, if it works, because I know schools where it doesn't, but if it really works, parents can participate in the decision-making of the school and can actually change something, we do it all the time. (...)

In this comment we already hear that in certain schools parents' participation is not actually working.

All respondents believed that school heads were at first rather sceptical about parents' participation. Even at school D where the council was working very well, parents had to claim their rights. The respondent of school D was very radical and refused to be treated as a 'wallflower'.

(...) D04: ... but of course at the moment we claimed that delegation, they (the heads) were worried for a while, 'you don't trust us' and 'we are not going to play the puppet on the string of the local school council', they were a little bit shocked at that moment. But that was our intention, to say to them: 'Look, it will be together or not', and I have to admit that the cooperation is very good now. (...)

In the other schools the parents were less optimistic. We got the impression that parents felt that the principals tried to keep the parents' participation to a minimum. According to this view, the amount of participation was dependent on the parents and the way they claimed their rights.

## 1.1.4.2. Participation of parents in Catholic schools

## 1.1.4.2.1. The principals

In the eight Catholic schools we met three different types of reactions towards the parents' participation in the participation councils. These reactions are summarized in figure 6.3.

**First** we have the principals with rather negative views about the participation of parents. Schools F, I, and L can be considered to belong to these types. Two main reasons were brought forward to justify this interpretation. The first was that parents lacked adequate knowledge about education. Principals had their doubts about the competence of parents concerning educational matters. Second, heads had the impression that parents often acted in their own interests. They were concerned only about their own children and had difficulties in becoming engaged in the common interests of the school.

These two ideas were expressed in the following quotation from the principal of school F:

(...) F01: ... Those parents they are very friendly people but the output is not that high ... There is no participation in the true meaning of the word, I don't think so.

I: And do you think it's important that parents participate in the decision-making of the school?

F01: Yes, but what's participation? From that day on which they come and tell me what to do, they can do it themselves. That is the big problem with participation. Education is a very difficult field. Parents have difficulties to obtain a broad view of this. We can hardly keep up with the current developments ourselves, so participation is impossible ... Next to that, I

notice many people who only defend their own interests. Few people are able to consider the common interest, few ... (...)

A **second** reaction was met at schools E, G, and school H. These principals agreed that the participation of parents was necessary and that parents could make a positive contribution to the school. However, they claimed that the participation council was a useless and redundant organ. These schools already had a tradition of parents' participation. This role was fulfilled by a parents' council. The role and working of these parents' councils will be treated further on in this chapter but we should already observe that at these schools the tasks of these parents' councils were not restricted to the organization of various fund raising festivities to collect money for the school.

(...) H01: We think the participation council is redundant, it is completely redundant. It is imposed by the Department of Education, but we already had enough participation in various committees. We have a board council in which teachers are elected, we have a consultative committee that meets at least once a month. (...) ... and we have a parents' council, we have everything that's necessary for participation in the school and above all the participation council. That's really too much of a good thing. (...) We do it because we have to ... Three times a year you have to have a meeting. So we assemble three times a year ... (...)

It should be emphasized that the principals of these schools were not opposed to parents' participation in general. On the contrary they regarded parents' participation as necessary, but since they already had parents' councils that acted as a committee for participation these councils could only involve principals, teachers and parents in extra work. Nevertheless, they were convinced that the participation councils were necessary for schools where such participation did not exist already.

A **third** reaction was found at school J. The principal of this school was very satisfied with the participation of parents in the participation council. Unlike the first group of schools these parents were apparently well informed concerning school policy. The head even thought that this kind of participation might go even further. Parents might also be represented in the board of directors of the school. The only problem here would be continuity. Parents were often interested in the school only while their children were studying there.

School K fell somewhat between these categories. At this school there was no parents' council before because of lack of interest. However the principal recognized that it was important to be abreast of the opinions of parents. The participation council could be the channel through which these views might be heard, but the principal considered that it was too soon to judge because of the limited number of meetings that had so far taken place.

Figure 6.3. The participation of parents in the participation council: The view of principals

Participation council:	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
overlaps with parents' council	X		X	X				
is positive and participation may go even further						X		
is negative		X			X			X

#### 1.1.4.2.2. The teachers

The comment put forward by some principals that parents often acted from their own interest and more specifically out of the interest of their children was shared by the teacher representatives at the participation councils of schools G and J. Certain teachers also thought that parents were not well enough informed about education to be appreciated participants in the participation council (school I). In

spite of these remarks all teachers agreed that it was necessary for parents to be represented on the participation councils.

Before participation councils were set up, a great fear of teachers was that parents were going to be involved in strictly pedagogical matters and discussion of the methods used by teachers. They were afraid to be criticized personally by parents. Most teachers have noticed that this fear was ungrounded. However with regard to this matter teachers do not want any involvement from parents : neither now, nor in the future. This view was expressed in the following quotation:

(...) H02: As long as they keep busy with general matters like bringing in funds, draw up a code of conduct and so on, they can do that as far as I am concerned but they have to stay out of my class, because if they do, they can teach themselves for a week and then they will know it, but otherwise they can participate. (...)

#### 1.1.4.2.3. The parents

It is remarkable that most of the parents had the feeling their opinions were taken seriously, even those of schools where principals were rather opposed to their participation. School L was the only exception. This parent was of the opinion that parents were not really taken seriously in the participation council. Parents had the impression that the principal just asked for their opinion to give them the feeling that they had some say, but that was all. This view appeared to correspond with the view of the principal of school L:

(...) I: And do you think parents can make some contributions to the school policy?

L01: No, they can't make any contributions ... One has to know a lot about education to be able to make a contribution. But I can work perfectly with

that. It doesn't trouble me. I give them a lot of papers, a lot of information, they have the feeling they know everything, but they don't make any contribution in my opinion. (...)

It should be noted that most of the schools had difficulties in finding candidates among the parents to become representatives in the participation council. Although schools organized elections in which parents could choose their representatives, principals actually decided who should become a member of the participation council. They mostly suggested that the chairman of the parents council would be a suitable person. Since in most of the schools other parents were not asked in person, these persons were elected for lack of other candidates.

It is significant that in most schools the number of candidates for the participation councils was not only rather restricted but the attendance of voters at the election of these parent-representatives was very low. At school G, for example, these elections were combined with a school party so that parents did not have to come to school especially for the elections, and even then the response remained very low. For that reason, some schools question the representativeness of the elected parents.

#### 1.1.5. Participation of pupils

##### 1.1.5.1. Participation of pupils in Community Schools

Since the establishment of the local school councils, Community schools have had to organize a pupil council for the pupils of the third grade. School D, which is a middle school, has no pupil council but the other schools in our sample have established one in cooperation with the local school council.<sup>2</sup> School B was the only school which already had a pupil council.

<sup>2</sup> School D only provides education for pupils of the first grade.

All these councils apparently worked according to the same principles. Only pupils of the third grade could become members of the pupil council. Other pupils were considered too young. The representatives were elected by all other pupils. Each meeting was guided by a teacher and the subjects discussed were of a rather practical nature and concerned the pupils directly. Frequently recurrent topics were the food at school, smoking at school, etc.

Although the local school councils had to invite the opinion of pupils concerning certain topics, for example, such as the changes in the school regulations, none of the schools had already done that. Besides this, pupils could take the initiative to formulate proposals.<sup>3</sup> These possibilities had not yet been exploited in the schools we visited. Nevertheless, every principal seemed to be open to that idea.

##### 1.1.5.2. Participation of pupils in catholic schools

The same assessments made for Community schools might be made for Catholic schools. At the schools that had already established a pupil council, the representatives of the pupils were elected by the pupils from the candidates from the third grade. Meetings were governed by a teacher and the topics of discussion were rather practical and of direct concern to the pupils.

Whereas in Community schools almost every school had a pupil council, at the time of writing only two of the Catholic schools had such a council. At school K and school L, the pupil councils had already existed for two years. School J planned to establish one in the following year. School J was the only school were

<sup>3</sup> *Klasse*, nr. 13, maart 1991, p. 9.

this idea had come from the pupils themselves.<sup>4</sup> Lack of interest among pupils for such a council was advanced as the reason why such a council did not exist in the other schools. Principals and teachers shared the opinion that there was no reason for such a council to exist when pupils were not interested. Yet principals and teachers were not opposed to the participation of pupils, as long as it was constructive. This idea was expressed in the following remark of the principal of school H:

(...) H01: Yes, that's a shortcoming. We don't have a pupil council and after the visit of the inspection team I also mentioned that to the teachers. So we said it's possible, and certain teachers have asked the pupils. And when those pupils came, I said that it was possible to establish such a council, but that it was about engagement to the school, to be more responsible for the school and not only to complain about everything like 'we can't smoke at school' etc. But if it's not like that it's o.k., teachers even want to support it, but we didn't see them anymore after that. (...)

While at these other schools lack of interest among pupils was taken as the main reason justifying the absence of a pupil council, a teacher of school G suggested that the principal and the organizing authority were opposed to the participation of pupils and to all other kind of participation.

(...) G04: I think our organizing authority is rather negative towards it ... I think they are rather negative towards every form of participation. They are rather traditional. 'We will do it for you and we do it well'. We have done this for 30 years and we will continue to do so, a little bit the theory of the enlightened despots : 'Everything for the people but nothing by the

<sup>4</sup> The expectation that in particular schools for general education would already have established a pupils' council is not completely supported by our results. School J indeed provides general education and school L offers the three tracks. But school K provides only vocational and technical education.

people'. (...)

In Catholic schools as well as in Community schools, every class had its representative. In most of the schools these pupils had to fill in the list of absences and other small tasks. Sometimes these class representatives were called by the principal as a group to give their opinions on certain topics concerning pupils. As in the pupil councils, they were not invited to consider school policy but only more practical matters.

With regard to the participation of pupils we may conclude that pupils have no real advisory power. Although participation councils and local school councils should consult pupils about matters which concern them none of the schools have done this up to now.

#### 1.1.6. Participation of the representatives of the local community

Another faction which is represented in local school councils and participation councils are the representatives of the local community. This is new for most of the schools. Whereas parents and teachers were already represented in respectively parents' committees and staff meetings, most of the schools had no organ in which the local community was represented.

As we found no real differences between Community and Catholic schools in their views on this topic they will be treated together.

It is remarkable that especially schools offering technical or/and vocational education used these representatives to improve relations with industry. In most of these schools representatives of the most important local industries were asked to join the participation council either the local school council. In that way schools hoped to increase the sponsorship of these companies or to arrange industrial visits

or practical training for pupils.

The comment made with regard to the representation of parents, namely, lack of knowledge, was not raised in this context. In all the schools we visited, principals and teachers were rather positive regarding the representation of the local community.

## 1.2. Other participatory councils for teachers

### 1.2.1. Community schools

In Community schools there are several other councils for the participation of teachers besides the local school council. Figure 6.4 shows the different councils in which teachers are represented.

Figure 6.4. Community schools: Participatory councils for teachers

Councils	A	B	C	D
Pedagogic council (Pedagogisch college)	X	X	X	X
Staff meeting (Leraarsvergadering)	X	X	X	X
Staff council (Leraarsraad)	X	X	X	X
Staff committee (Directieraad)			X	
Union-head committee (Basis overlegcomité)	X	X	X	X

One of the councils through which teachers have certain advisory power is the **pedagogic council**. The number of representatives depends on the number of pupils at the school. These representatives are elected by the other teachers. The pedagogic council is an advisory council, and teachers have no decision-making power. In addition to that the pedagogic council is authorized to consider only

educational policy. Organizational management is not discussed in this council. Members of the pedagogic council construct the school work plan, make suggestions about school regulations, discuss the choice of new disciplines, etc. The teacher-representatives in this council are very well aware that they have only advisory power and that it is up to the head to take their advice into account. Finally the head takes the decisions.

(...) B02: ... But then he says: 'You are only an advisory council'. So if he wants he can ignore our advice. (...)

Teachers considered this pedagogic council as one of the councils through which they could participate in the educational policy of the school.

A second council through which teachers can participate in the decision-making of the school is the **staff meeting**. All teachers of the school belong to this council. In practice however this council can not really be considered as a decision-making organ. First, the staff meeting does not meet frequently. In certain schools only one meeting is organized at the beginning of the schoolyear. And second, in most schools these meetings function only to disseminate information.

The **staff council** existed in every school of our sample. In this council, representatives of the teachers have advisory power on educational matters. Although matters of organizational management are not discussed at the staff council, teachers did not consider this as a shortcoming.

At most Community schools a **staff committee** was not mentioned as one of the existing councils. Only school C had such a council. This council consisted only of the principals of the schools at the same campus. The staff council is, then, not an organ for participation of teachers.

Alongside these advisory councils schools have to organize a 'Union-head committee'<sup>5</sup>. In this council members of the TU are represented. While all schools maintain such a council, none of the teachers apparently attach great importance to it. Teachers did not think that the union-head committee exerted an important influence on school policy. Teachers who were not members of such a council were mostly uninformed about the operation of this body and were sometimes even unaware of its existence.

### 1.2.2. Catholic schools

Teachers are not always fully aware of all the councils and committees in their school. When asked which councils the school had installed for the participation of teachers, most of the teachers failed to mention several councils. The participatory councils for teachers in Catholic schools are presented in figure 6.5.

<sup>5</sup> This council is also responsible for those tasks that are fulfilled by the health-and-safety council in Catholic schools.

Figure 6.5. Catholic schools: Participatory councils for teachers

Councils	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Organizing authority (Inrichtende macht)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Works council (Ondernemingsraad)	X		X	X		X	X	X
Health-and-safety council (Comité voor gezondheid en verfraaiing van de werkplaats)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Staff committee (with principals of the school community <sup>6</sup> ) (Directieraad)	X			X	X			
Staff council (Leraarsraad)		X	X			X		X
Staff meeting (Leraarsvergadering)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bilateral consultative committee (Bilateraal overlegcomité)						X		
Consultative committee (Overlegcomité)				X				
Advisory council (Adviesraad)							X	

Most teachers have no contact with the **organizing authority** of the school. Although in some schools teachers are represented on the **board of directors** (Raad van Beheer) of the organizing authority, none of the schools in our sample had representatives of the teachers on this council.<sup>7</sup> However the principal of school J considered this as a real possibility in the future. Most teachers are not aware of

<sup>6</sup> A school community is a collection of several schools of the same network situated in the same area and providing all kinds of education i.e. general, technical and vocational education. 'Directieraad' has at this point a different meaning from that which it has in table 2.2 of Chapter 2. We preferred to keep the name as used by the head of the school.

<sup>7</sup> The organizing authority exists in most schools as a 'V.Z.W.' (non-profit organization). This V.Z.W. consists of the following organs:

- a general conference in charge of drawing up and changing of regulations, general orientation of the activities of the 'V.Z.W.' and to insuring the continuity.
- a board of directors, especially in charge of the daily management
- one or more members of the board of directors, attorneys or the delegate manager (Devos e.a., 1987: 30).



the competence of the organizing authority. The most extreme example was met at school I where teachers were not even informed about the members of the organizing authority. Most teachers of this school did not know the composition of the organizing authority. Until recently, this was also the case at school K. After the establishment of the participation council however, this changed. Although representatives of the organizing authority are present at the participation council, the contact between teachers and the organizing authority has not really increased. For most teachers the organizing authority remains a dark and unknown aspect of school life.

In the **works council**, teachers have only advisory power. Not every school has such a works council. Only schools with at least a hundred employees have to establish a works council. Most teachers are not really informed about the works council. Only the teachers' representatives, mostly delegates of the TU, know what is discussed at the works council. Not all of these councils work as they should. At school G for example, this council existed only on paper. The works council of this school did not actually meet.

Schools with at least fifty employees have to establish a **health-and-safety council**. The health-and-safety council was established in every Catholic school of our sample but the operation of this council differed from school to school. In most of these schools, the health-and-safety council existed only on paper and was considered a 'quiet committee'. The attitude towards the health-and-safety council of most schools may be illustrated by the simple fact that most principals even failed to mention this council when we asked which councils existed at the school. Only in school E did this council appear to have some significance. This council operated very well and worked hard according to the teacher. This could follow from the fact that school E was a rather large technical school where the need for such a committee was felt more than in smaller technical schools or schools for general education.

We have to make a distinction between the **staff committee**, the **staff council** and **staff meetings**. **Staff meetings** exist at every school. These meetings are convened a few times a year and all teachers and other staff have right to attend. These meetings are not frequent and in several schools they actually occur only at the beginning of the school year and can be seen as meetings for information. The head provides information for his staff at the beginning of the new school year. For that reason, these staff meetings cannot really be considered as advisory bodies.

In several schools there also exists a **staff council** alongside these staff meetings. Not all teachers attend these councils. Teachers have to elect their representatives for the staff council. These councils do not always have the same name in every school; names such as staff council, teachers council, teachers forum, advisory council or staff committee are used to designate this body which makes matters very confusing. At certain schools, a staff committee consists of members of the management team eventually supplemented by members of the staff. In other schools, it has to be interpreted as a staff council. Not only do the names vary from school to school but so does the composition of this council. The representatives may be elected by the staff, or this council may consist of the class directors. At school L, the staff council existed of a small permanent group of people who attended every meeting and, dependent on the subject discussed, they might be joined by other interested staff members. The staff council is yet another advisory council the concerns of which are restricted to educational matters. Matters of organizational management are not discussed at these councils. In this connection we have to mention that teachers did not always consider it necessary that this should be more than an advisory council.

Many schools also have a **staff committee**, but the same councils are not always referred to by this appellation. In certain schools, what is called a staff committee might rather be interpreted as a staff council (school J). The composition of this council was not always the same in every school. While at most schools the

head, deputy head, director of the secretariat, coordinators and other representatives of the teachers were members of the staff committee, at school E teachers did not participate at this council and at school H, besides teachers, representatives of the local community were also represented.

Schools should also organize a '**bilateral consultative committee**'. This council is the result of an agreement between the teachers unions and the NSKO (National Secretariat of Catholic Education). In this council members of the TU, the principal, and representatives of the organizing authority discuss e.g. staff matters. This council existed only at school J at the time of the survey. However schools F and H intended establish this bilateral consultative committee in the near future.

In addition to these councils, we met a **consultative committee** at school H. This was another advisory council which met at least once a month. The principals, the workshop leaders, the co-ordinators and the director of the secretariat were the members of this council.

Certain schools also had several work-groups (Schools I and K). Most of them had nothing to do with the decision-making of the school but were established to fulfil rather practical tasks. For that reason these work-groups might rather be discussed in paragraph 3.4 (this chapter) on the engagement of the teachers in the school. At school K however, one of these work-groups to which teachers could apply was the **advisory council**. Contrary to the other work-groups, the principal led the meeting of this advisory council. Educational matters in particular were discussed, but as the name of this council suggests, teachers exercised only advisory power in these matters. Teachers were not elected to sit on the advisory council. In the beginning of the schoolyear every teacher could and was required to register with one of the available work-groups.

### 1.2.3. Conclusion

In Catholic schools as well as in Community schools many councils were created to give teachers the opportunity of influencing school policy. Most of these councils however had no more than advisory power. Since they had no legal right to take final decisions, the decision-making power remained in the hands of the principals and, for the Catholic schools, in those of the organizing authority.

Several of these councils were 'quiet committees' which existed only on paper since they had to be formally established but were not operating in practise. In most schools, only those teachers who represented their colleagues on these councils were informed about their operation. In the most extreme cases other teachers had not even heard of the existence of some of these bodies.

## 1.3. Other participatory councils for parents

### 1.3.1. Parents' councils

First we discuss the different types of parents' councils we have met in the schools. After that we focus on the similarities between parents' councils. Our assessments are summarized in figure 6.6.

A **first** type of parents' council was found at school C. This parents' council existed only on paper. It is worth noting that the principal, the teacher, as well as the parents had a different explanation for this. The view of the principal was summarized in the following quotation.

(...) C01: Well I have to say, till now we didn't feel the need for such a parents' council. We offer a certain package and try to make corrections as much as possible. And the parents registering their children ... I already

said it, the profile of the school is very clear, one knows why one registers in our school. Well, then I think we don't need 500 masters of participation. (...)

The teacher-representative of the local school council thought that the council did not function because of lack of interest in the school by parents. The parent representative did not see any need for a parents' council because everything went well at the school.

A **second** type of parents' council was occupied with the organization of the local school party, open days, etc. They helped the school to collect some financial support by organizing several activities for that purpose (schools J and L).

The parents' councils at schools A, D, G, and I did not have to help with the organization of local school parties and other fundraising activities, for which in most of these schools there was a separate organizing committee. Among the members of this committee there were often parents whose children no longer attended these schools and who, for that reason, could not remain members of the parents' councils.

School E and school H went even further. The parents' councils at these schools could be considered as real instruments for participation. In these councils, parents defined the points of view they would support on the participation councils, and the reports of these participation councils were discussed at the parents' councils. Before the establishment of the participation councils these parents' councils were comparable with the participation councils as real organs of participation. These parents' councils were still considered to be more important organs than the participation councils.

In several schools we visited no parents' councils had been established until recently, and schools B, F and K still lacked parents' councils. Two main reasons were noted in explanation of this situation. At schools B and F all the respondents, including the parents, believed this was attributable to lack of interest on the part of parents. At school K, the principal had the same opinion but both teachers were convinced that the main reason was the opposition of the former principal and the organizing authority to the participation of parents. Parents were considered as 'Nosy Parkers' who had no business in matters concerning the school. At the schools where the parents' councils had been recently established both parents and teachers suggested that this might have arisen from the establishment of the participation council.

Certain similarities were found among the parents' councils. In every school the meetings were attended by the principal and often a representative of the teachers was also present. The principals and teachers often gave information about the policy of the school or about new education policy.

It is worth noting that in every school we investigated the number of parents participating in this parents' councils was, according to most of the interviewees, rather limited. Schools in which the parents' council consists of four to five persons were no exception. The operation of these councils also differed from year to year, and depended on the people who joined them. In several schools, the operation of the school council varied from year to year and depended on the members.

Most principals as well as teachers were convinced that these parents' councils fulfilled a certain purpose for the school. However certain objections were made. The principal of school D :

(...) D01: Last year we established a parents' council. It didn't exist yet because the former board didn't like to have Nosy Parkers around. The

teachers were rather negative at first but I have to admit that the parents' councils works very well. I told the chairman that I was prepared to co-operate if they work positively. I went through it myself, I was a member of a parents' council myself and they wanted to talk about teachers. I don't think that this is the task of a parents' council ... A parents' council may say that the satchels are too heavy. They may tell me there is a need of remedial courses ... If it's positive they may say what they think ... If it's positive then I support them but it can't become a place to raise complaints towards the teachers or gossip about the teachers. (...)

Figure 6.6. Functions of parents' councils

Parents' council:	A	C	D	E	G	H	I	J	L
only exists on paper		X							
helps with the organization of school events			X				X	X	X
helps to collect money								X	X
participates in the school policy				X		X			
stipulates the standpoints for the participation council			X	X		X			
organizes information evenings	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X

## § 2. Relations with parents, pupils and the local community

### 2.1. Relations with parents

Contact with parents through the participation councils, the local school councils and through the parents' councils respectively have already been discussed under 1.4. *Participation of parents*. In this paragraph the relations with all parents will be considered.

More or less the same remarks were encountered in all schools, and no important differences were noticed between the comments of teachers and principals.

All principals and teachers attached great importance to the contact with parents. They considered it very important that parents could contact them if they felt there were some problems with their children. For that reason, most of the schools distributed a list of all the school's teachers with their addresses and phone numbers with the explicit message that parents could contact the school or the teachers at any time.

The channels through which schools had contact with the parents are more or less the same for all schools: parents' evenings, information evenings, all kind of information brochures, all kind of announcements on school life, etc. In spite of several measures taken with regard to these subjects<sup>8</sup>, most of the schools did not mention any change in these channels or their use in the last five years.

Direct contact with parents had increased over the last five years in all schools. Parents took the initiative more easily than before to telephone principals or teachers or to visit schools. Principals and teachers believed that the threshold for parents in contacting the schools had lowered during recent years. However these increased contacts were described as 'negative criticism'. Parents rarely contacted the schools to say how happy they were about the school. Most parents only got in touch with the schools when they had problems with their children or when they disagreed with certain aspects of school policy. Principals and teachers regarded the increased contact with parents as a step forward but were disappointed that these contacts were restricted to trivialities, problems or complaints.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the obligation for schools to set out school regulations that have to be signed by the parents.

(...) C01: Parents more easily phone the school than they used to. They are more daring. Unfortunately they often contact us for trivialities or false pictures. By that I mean that when children are going to tell stories at home parents are more inclined to contact the school to know what has happened. (...)

Parents also interfered with the educational task of the school in that way. Perfectly justified punishments for example were very often contested. This had had an influence on the behaviour of teachers. The teachers had always to be able to justify their behaviour towards pupils and sometimes the attitude of parents affected the authority of the teachers.

(...) E01: Parents more easily claim their rights, but they do it in a negative way. When a pupil was punished in the past it could happen that his parents even added a little extra. Today parents say that their children do not have to write the lines. It wouldn't be the first phone-call I received this year because parents are more likely to believe their son than the teacher. (...)

Some principals and teachers feared that this would get even worse in the future. In their opinion schools should adapt to this changed attitude of the parents. They maintain that parents could exert some pressure on the school. This opinion was expressed by a teacher of school A:

(...) A02: I have known the days when parents' evenings and things like that didn't exist. But now we have too much of a good thing. The next step is that parents come to the school to say that things are not working out and that it should change. And the following step is that parents come to the school to quarrel with a teacher because they feel the teacher has not treated their child in the right way. I am not talking about our school alone but I also hear stories like that from teachers of other schools. In our school we

have experienced a few times that a teacher got complaints from the parents and consequently the parents just looked for another school for their children. Parents can put pressure on the school. Because if we loose a pupil, we loose two lesson periods. That is going to create problems I think. But of course I have no objections to contact with parents as such. (...)

Another complaint we often heard was that parents did not listen to advice regarding the transfer of their children to another class. This happened often when the school advised pupils to go from general to technical education or from technical to vocational education.

(...) H01: We have the experience that parents do not agree with the policy to avoid retention of a child to repeat a year's instruction. When we award a B-certificate to prevent a pupil loosing another year, then the parents are opposed to it.<sup>9</sup> Parents often want their children to repeat the year in such cases. Half of the pupils who get a B-certificate and should attend vocational education have to repeat their year in technical education. Within general education it is even worse. Some parents want their children to repeat several years or let them choose a weak track so they can stay within general education. We try to give those parents good advice but they ignore it. (...)

All this requires that schools have to be able to justify everything.

(...) F01: This takes a lot of effort. I feel it has gone too far when we always have to send a registered letter. I think it's a pity that we always have to

<sup>9</sup> When schools assign a B-certificate pupils are allowed to move on to the next year of study but not within the same track. E.g. pupils with a B-certificate in general education can continue their studies within technical education. If these pupils choose to remain within general education they have to repeat the year.

make sure they can't prosecute us.<sup>10</sup> (...)

A few principals of vocational and technical schools (schools B and F) suggested that the interest of parents in the education of their children decreased the lower the level of education. These parents appeared to contact the schools less than other parents. Their presence at parents' evenings and other information evenings for parents was liable to follow the same trend.

The measures taken to increase and facilitate contact with parents of immigrant children have already been discussed in chapter 5. The contacts with parents of immigrant children are increasing and are facilitated because of the use of mediators and the translation of important school documents. However parents of immigrant children do not easily take the initiative of contacting schools. Most contacts proceed on the initiative of the schools. Combining this assessment with the above mentioned law and the assessment that most immigrant pupils still choose vocational education we can understand the following quotation:

(...) F01: The interest of the parents decreases according to the decreasing level of education. Parents' evenings in general education are more than a success, for technical education it is a little less and finally there is vocational education. Most immigrant pupils attend vocational education and there is already a lack of interest from the parents. (...)

Finally we should observe that relations between parents and the school remained on this level for most parents. Only those parents engaged in parents'

<sup>10</sup> Parents have the possibility of going to court to dispute certain aspects of school policy. Most disputes concern the refusal of a school to register a pupil, measures with regard to the discipline at school, or decisions of the deliberating class council. To ensure the legal status of the pupil every organizing authority has to elaborate school regulations. These school regulations have to consist of disciplinary and study regulations. These regulations have to be signed by the parents. The Committee of Appeal is authorized to deal with contested decisions (Klasse, February 1992, 22, p. 11).

committees or in local school councils and participation councils were committed in a more active way to the school. In none of the schools we visited, did parents play an academic role within the school. None of them functioned as 'class helpers' or had a formal organizational role in homework.

## 2.2. Relations with pupils

With regard to this issue several types of schools were discovered. We were able to place the schools on a continuum from schools where the relationship between pupils and principals was rather open and informal and schools where the pupils rarely had contact with the head. We did not distinguish such differences between schools with regard to the contacts between pupils and teachers.

At schools H, K, and L, contact between pupils and principals relied on go-betweens. At school H, the form tutor acted as a middleman between pupils and the principal. At schools K and L, pupils were supposed to contact the deputy head. Especially at school L, pupils had only very rarely direct contact with the principal and, if they had it, it was mostly on the initiative of the principal.

A second type of school was found at schools A and C. At these schools, pupils were always welcome to go to the head with their problems. Pupils could visit the principal when they wanted and did not have to make an appointment in advance. However pupils did not frequently use this possibility in practice. Pupils seemed to feel a kind of initial resistance to do so, and would rather turn to the teachers with their problems before visiting the principal.

A third type with regard to relations with pupils was encountered at schools E, F, G, I, and J. As in the schools mentioned above, the contacts between principals and pupils at these schools proceeded rather informally. But while there was a rather large distance between pupils and principals in the former type of



schools, at these schools the principals tried to reduce this distance. These heads often walked among the pupils in the playground to make it easier for pupils to talk to them. For that reason most pupils showed no initial resistance to going to see the principal.

Schools B and D can be considered as a last type of school. The principal of school B claimed to be very open and understanding towards the pupils. Pupils could turn to the principal at every hour of the day and frequently did so. Indeed during our visit at the school, several pupils came to the office of the head with all kind of questions. The principal claimed to be a kind of confessor for his pupils.

(...) B01: I have become a kind of confessor for my older pupils and my teachers. They come to me with their problems. My teachers come to me and have a good cry when they have trouble at home and so do the pupils. The older girls know they can come to me with their problems. They know they can even tell me if they are pregnant. Because I am not stupid. If it has happened we have to try and help them. And then they ask me 'Do I have to leave the school?' and I tell them they can stay. But we have to try and help them. So we contact the P.M.S.-centre for these cases. They have a good medical service, a social service and a psychological service ... A psychologist is better fit to talk to someone ... Especially a female psychologist can talk better with such a girl than I can. (...)

However this attitude is criticized by the teachers of school B. Teachers maintained that pupils could easily pay a visit to the principal because they already knew in advance that they were put in the right by the principal when there were conflicts between pupils and teachers. The teachers believed that their authority was undermined by this attitude of the principal when conflicts between pupils and teachers arose. The teachers felt that the head should support his staff.

(...) B02: In that way he takes the ground from under our feet. He often supports the pupils and the pupils are aware of that. And if they do not like something, they say 'OK, we will go to the principal'. I made the remark that a principal should support his staff at the pedagogic council. And I don't think he should always decide in favour of the teachers. But I will give you an example. One day the pupils of the final year had no lectures the last two teaching periods and instead of going to the classroom of the teacher that had to do a replacement for those periods, they left the school. As a consequence the teacher gave these pupils a punishment. And what did the pupils do? They went to the principal with this punishment and the principal accompanied them back to the class and tore up the sheet in front of the teacher and the pupils. (...)

With regard to the contacts with pupils, school D went even further. All doors were literally open for everyone. During the lessons the doors of the classrooms remained open and the door of the principal's office is also almost always wide open. Teachers and pupils can always enter.

(...) D01: You will see, normally our doors are all open and pupils can always come to me. I think it's important that those children can express themselves from time to time. I think that is why I am here ... They can come to me every moment of the day. If there are problems we try to talk them over, try to find a solution and try to put them at their ease. Mostly it concerns little problems but they are important for those children. (...)

The four types of schools we met with regard to the relations with pupils are summarized in figure 6.7.



Figure 6.7. Contacts between pupils and principals

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
contact between pupils and heads relying on go-betweens								X			X	X
Heads are open to contact with pupils but a distance is kept	X		X									
heads are open to contact and try to reduce the distance					X	X	X		X	X		
pupils visit the head regularly and there is almost no distance		X		X								

We have noticed that the differences we met among the schools in our sample could be linked to the size of these schools. In large schools contact between principals and pupils could be more difficult than in schools with fewer pupils. Although this assessment does not apply to every school in our sample it became obvious that schools H, K, and L, i.e. the schools where the contacts between heads and pupils relied on go-betweens, belonged to the largest schools in our sample (respectively 1,122, 537 and 687 pupils). School D was the smallest school in our sample (123 pupils) and this could explain the policy of 'open doors'.

We heard the same remarks about the relations between pupils and teachers in every school. Certain teachers had a really good relationship with the pupils.<sup>11</sup> Pupils could always go to them with their problems and the contacts between these teachers and the pupils were rather informal. Other teachers liked to keep a distance

<sup>11</sup> In the beginning of the school year 1990-1991 the average score of the relationship of the pupils with the teacher as a 'person' (as seen by the pupils in twenty-three schools) was 3.056 on 4 in 1st form A and 2.694 on 4 in the topform. At the end of the school year the figure of 1st form A was significantly decreased to 2.898, whereas the score of the topform had increased significantly to 2.722. The relationship of the pupils with the teacher as 'teacher' was in the beginning of the school year 3.046 in the 1st form A and 2.431 in the topform. At the end of the school year the score in the 1st form A decreased significantly (2.811), whereas the score of the topform had not changed (Verhoeven, e.a., 1992: 236-237).

between teachers and pupils and attached great importance to the hierarchy at school. Every school seemed to know these types of teachers. This appeared to be linked not so much to the school as to the personality of the teacher.

### 2.3. Relations with the local community

The respondents in the twelve schools we visited were asked what relations they maintained with five different agencies in the local community: local industrial and commercial concerns, universities or colleges, local community organizations, local political parties and the local police.

#### 2.3.1. Local industrial and commercial concerns

With regard to the last four groups the schools' relations were apparently very similar. Contacts with industrial and commercial organizations however differed. We noticed that the reactions of the schools towards contacts with industrial and commercial concerns seemed to be connected with the type of education the schools provided. Depending on the kind of education offered by the school, i.e. general, technical and/or vocational, the contacts of schools with industry and commerce were different. Schools with technical and/or vocational education seemed in particular to maintain more extensive relations with industry. For that reason we distinguish between schools that offered only general education, those which provided technical and vocational education and those which provided all three types.

Schools A, C, I, and J offer only general education, and school D is a middle school that offers common secondary education. At these schools, the contacts with industry and business had to be situated at the level of the pupils. The contacts of these schools with industrial and commercial concerns were restricted to occasional visits to these companies by the pupils. However, after the establishment

respectively of the local school council and the participation council, relations with certain local concerns improved. But even then schools applied these improved contacts only to obtain the opportunity to visit these companies.

(...) C01: It is only natural if the director-general of an important concern is a member of the local school council we do not have to ask twice if we want to visit his company with our pupils, while other schools are not permitted to visit them. (...)

None of these schools mentioned any other kind of contact between the school and the local industrial and commercial concerns. Material or financial help from these concerns was not considered necessary for general education.

Schools B, E, H, and K offered technical and vocational education. The contacts of schools E, H, and K with industry and business went further than the above mentioned schools. These schools had to rely on industrial and commercial concerns for the practical training of their pupils and the evaluation of qualification tests and final tests. The jury that had to evaluate these tests consisted partly of representatives of industrial and/or commercial concerns. In addition to that most of these schools could also count on the material or financial support of certain companies. Machines or materials that had to be replaced by industrial and commercial concerns were often presented to the schools or even financial help was sometimes offered to them. At school K, for example, the clothing industry had offered financial support for the establishment of a new clothing department.

(...) K02: For this new department we have to buy a lot of new materials. It's a very expensive department. We have to have computers at our disposal to make designs and so on and the local clothing industry gave financial help to establish this new department. (...)

Only at school B did the contact with industrial and commercial concerns not proceed in that way. School B apparently belonged more to the following group of schools.

A third group of schools were those that provided general, technical and vocational education as well (schools F, G, and L). It is remarkable that these schools could not count on material and financial support in the same way as those which were solely technical and vocational schools. These schools indicated that they received some support from industrial or commercial concerns but they believed that it did not assume the same proportion as in the other schools. The principals of schools G and L would have liked to have more support in the future, while the head of school F thought that support from the industrial and commercial world could present some problems.

(...) F01: When we would ask for the support of industrial concerns the danger exists they will expect something in return. Eventually they could expect us to provide their needs. (...)

It is remarkable that in this last group these contacts are not developed in the same way as in the former. Nevertheless, these schools also provided technical and vocational education. We noticed that in these schools, as in school B, the possibilities within the technical and vocational tracks were rather restricted. At schools E, H, and K these possibilities were more extensive. This could be an explanation for our assessments.

Figure 6.8. Relations with industrial and commercial organizations

Industrial and commercial concerns offer:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
corporate visits by the pupils	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
practical training of pupils		X			X	X	X	X			X	X
evaluation of qualification tests and final tests		X			X	X	X	X			X	X
financial and material support		X			X	X	X	X			X	

As already mentioned under 1.6. *Participation of the representatives of the local community* (of this chapter) schools also had contacts with industrial and commercial concerns through the participation councils or local school councils. It should be emphasized that especially vocational and technical schools attempted to attract representatives from important local industrial or commercial concerns. Schools offering general education recruited their representatives of the local community more from the local socio-cultural environment.

In addition to the participation councils and local school councils, vocational and technical schools had to establish a **Direction Committee** (bestuurscommissie). More than half of the members of this board had to be representatives of the economic and social community (Devos e.a., 1987: 116).

### 2.3.2. Universities or colleges

The relations most schools maintained with higher education are limited. Schools received an enormous amount of advertising from universities and colleges. In addition, principals allowed their pupils to attend information days which these institutions organized. Teachers attended in-service training organized by these institutions. For most schools the relations with universities and colleges were

confined to these matters.

Only two schools had closer relationships with higher education. Schools E and H were connected with a Polytechnical college. In practice this meant that these schools could use the machinery of the polytechnics and a large number of pupils who transferred to higher education chose those colleges.

### 2.3.3. Local community organizations

No important relations with local community organizations were mentioned. Schools visited performances of local theatrical companies, music societies and so on. Some schools placed their infrastructure at the disposal of certain cultural organizations. However contacts between schools and local community organizations remained limited.

### 2.3.4. Local political parties

All schools claimed to have no relations whatsoever with political parties. Most principals even strived to have members of different political opinions in the local school council and the participation council respectively. Principals as well as teachers seemed to agree that there was no place for politics at school.

(...) J01: The CVP<sup>12</sup> has tried to set up something at school but it did not work out. Teachers also feel that politics should have no place at school. You can engage yourself in a political party but the school has to keep out of this. We can't commit ourselves to one or another political party. (...)

<sup>12</sup> Christelijke Volkspartij (Christian Democratic Party)

## 2.3.5. Local police

In most schools we visited, the relations with local police were considered satisfactory. When there were problems with pupils that concern the local police, the principals felt they could always make an appeal to the local police. The general attitude may be summarized as follows: 'If we need them, we can always make an appeal to the police. If we do not need them, we have no contact.'

## § 3. Management of teachers

## 3.1. Recruitment, appointment and dismissal of teachers

Until recently the management of teachers with regard to the recruitment, appointment and dismissal was very different in Community schools and in Catholic schools. In Community schools this was the responsibility of the Minister of Education. Catholic schools always had greater autonomy as far as personnel management was concerned. In Catholic schools the organizing authority has the authority to recruit, appoint, dismiss and evaluate teachers. In Community schools, however, local autonomy with regard to the personnel management has increased a few years ago (see Chapter 1). The recruitment of teachers is now in the hands of the local school council. This autonomy has to be differentiated. Schools have to abide by several regulations with regard to the recruitment of teachers<sup>13</sup>, which limits their autonomy in practice. Appointment and dismissal, however, are the responsibility of the Central Council of the ARGO.

Although the autonomy of Catholic schools with regard to personnel management is more far-reaching than the power of Community schools, there are some limitations which both kinds of schools experience. Redeployment policy and

<sup>13</sup> E.g. diploma, seniority and redeployment regulations.

tenureship make it very difficult for both kinds of schools to pursue a local personnel policy. Consequently the reactions in Community and Catholic schools very much resemble each other. To avoid needless repetition both networks will be treated together. We bring out the differences between Community and Catholic schools where necessary.

## 3.1.1. Principals

First we consider the standpoint of principals concerning the recruitment, appointment and dismissal of teachers. We emphasize the problems principals mentioned in relation to the management of teachers.

## 3.1.1.1. Recruitment of teachers

In Catholic schools the recruitment of teachers is the responsibility of the organizing authority. Recently, the autonomy of Community schools with regard to the recruitment of teachers has increased. Although heads in both Catholic and Community schools should be able to pursue an independent personnel policy with regard to the recruitment of teachers, certain aspects of education policy prevent them from doing so. Indeed, in theory heads should feel rather free to recruit teachers, but in practice however certain problems occur. Re-deployment policy and tenureship interfere with local personnel management.

The **re-deployment policy** makes it more difficult for principals to recruit the teachers they want. This policy leaves little space to appoint new teachers. New vacancies are limited because of this policy. Heads have to give priority to teachers covered by this re-deployment policy for all vacancies that might be considered for re-deployment policy. Most heads felt that this policy had also a negative influence on the quality of education. Re-deployed teachers were often discouraged and lacked the right attitude to teach. Most of the heads considered this to be a logical

result of re-deployment policy and, for that reason, did not blame the teachers themselves for this.

(...) H01: The re-deployment policy is a real problem. We have several teachers from other schools in this re-deployment policy who are teaching a few hours in this school, a few hours in that schools and so on. That's a real problem.

I: And does it influence the quality of education?

H01: Of course and you have to dismiss teachers you hired yourself. This re-deployment policy is really getting out of control. It's not justified anymore in our opinion. I understand they want to guarantee that teachers having a permanent appointment keep their job. They wanted those teachers to be kept employed but they are causing more problems with this policy. That's something all schools are thinking. (...)

Principals were also aware of the fact that they could not expect the same commitment from teachers who taught a few hours in each of several schools. The re-deployment policy did not influence the school climate for the better. When a school had too many re-deployed teachers all the extra-curricular activities which the school organized had to be undertaken by a small group of full-time teachers. The teachers who had to work within the system of re-deployment were also pitiable in the opinion of the principals:

(...) A01: We have a teacher who has to travel throughout whole Limburg.<sup>14</sup> He has no car, no driver's licence and is always on the bus. He knows almost every village in Limburg. And as if that is not bad enough this re-deployment policy also means that those teachers have to be active in several class councils and so on and so on. At a certain moment this can become too much. This discourages enormously. (...)

<sup>14</sup> Limburg is one of the provinces of Belgium.

We must recall that although principals were limited in their personnel policy by the re-deployment policy and the permanent appointment of teachers, they attempted to control this situation as much as possible. E.g. sometimes heads merged classes in order to avoid having to accept re-deployed teachers from other schools.

### 3.1.1.2. Appointment of teachers

In almost every school the system of **tenureship** was also criticized by the heads.

(...) L01: A real problem in my opinion is the tenureship of teachers. (...) It is incredible that a school can function with permanent appointed teachers in a society as we know it now. I think that's incredible and it damages the effectiveness. (...) I think teachers would work differently if they didn't have that secure feeling that they have their wages at the end of the month whatever they do. People think that this feeling of security makes teachers work efficiently. I don't think so, I don't think security makes teachers work well. (...)

Although the possibilities of dismissing permanently appointed teachers had increased or had become easier, most principals did not use this possibility in practice. This will be discussed later.

### 3.1.1.3. Dismissal of teachers

Neither Community schools nor Catholic schools sought to dismiss permanently appointed teachers. All principals considered that it should be easier to dismiss permanently appointed teachers, but at that moment none of them considered it to be a real possibility. The administration was too complicated and

the procedure to dismiss a permanently appointed teacher took too much time. The facility of discharging permanently appointed teachers was considered to be possible only in very deviant situations such as occasioned by a teacher misbehaving in the classroom. And even then principals did not easily decide to take measures. The dismissal of permanently appointed teachers was considered a delicate matter that had to be handled very discreetly. However all heads agreed that they should have the opportunity to fire teachers who really no longer give satisfaction.

The dismissal of temporarily appointed teachers was more easily regarded, but even in this case the procedure took a lot of time and effort. In the past this had been an immense work and most principals did not even bother to dismiss such teachers.

(...) B01: Since the establishment of the ARGO the dismissal of teachers has become easier. In the past it was a real problem ... Once I made a file of 150 pages about a teacher. He was a trainee, so it should have been easy. And I received a phone call only one day after I sent my file. They asked me whether I knew what I was doing. I said: 'Of course I know what I am doing'. What I am telling you happened 15 years ago. I said: 'I know exactly what I am doing'. 'But are you aware that this person could be dismissed?' I said: 'Of course, that's my intention, did you think I made all these pages to ...?' I must admit, I already heard smarter questions in my life ... I didn't hear anything from them for three months and when I called to ask what was happening it seemed the file I sent them was missing. Well I expected this. So I still had five copies of the file. So I just sent another copy with a letter in which I told them that they shouldn't bother to let that one disappear as well because I still had four copies. I said: "it has to appear before the Council of Appeal", and indeed it did, three years later. And what happened? This person got appointed with retrospective effect. (...)

Although this procedure had been simplified none of the heads believed that the opportunity of dismissing teachers had increased in reality.

### 3.1.2. Teachers

Most of the teachers we interviewed in the Catholic schools thought the head and the organizing authority had considerable autonomy in deciding which teachers they should recruit and appoint. However, most teachers were not well informed about the personnel management of the schools.

(...) I: Are the teachers informed on the management of the staff?

I03: No, we don't have any view on this. The staff is rarely asked something about this. The vision of the management team on this is not transparent for teachers, it's a smokescreen. It's the same with the re-deployment policy. I think they try to avoid this e.g. merging classes, but we teachers have no insight in this. (...)

In Community schools the same attitude was noticed. However we should report a difference with regard to the **recruitment of the staff**. While this used to be the responsibility of the Minister of Education in the past, the local school councils were now authorized to recruit new personnel. Two remarks were heard with regard to this issue.

A first remark concerned the participation of teachers in the local school council. Teachers were not at all happy that they had to leave the meeting when personnel matters were discussed. They maintained that they should have the same rights in this respect as the representatives of the other factions.

A second remark concerned the increased local autonomy with regard to the recruitment of teachers as such. Teachers were not at all convinced that local



autonomy was an improvement, the reason being that they were afraid that this increased local autonomy would facilitate nepotism and political appointments more than had formerly been the case.

(...) A02: I am not sure whether it is better than it used to be. In the past it happened almost like this, you could get a temporary appointment if you went to a politician you knew and when he wanted to support you, well then you could have the job. (...) What's the situation now? The local school council constructs criteria for the recruitment of personnel and temporary appointed teachers get recruited by the head on the proposal of the local school council. But when these matters are discussed the representatives of the staff have to leave the meeting. But the problem is: on which ground do they decide? Another question is: what's the political colour of the members of the local school council who have to decide? When you know that certain people became a member of the local school council because they had the support of the TU ... I think politics play an important part in these recruitments.(...)

Teachers of both networks agreed with the principals that **re-deployment policy** had a negative influence on the quality of education.

(...) A02: When I look at my younger colleagues - and then I am talking about colleagues of 40 years old - to which they say: 'OK you can drive 50 kilometres from now on to teach 5 hours'. When I think of those situations I get rather furious. (...) I know people, and everybody will know people like that, who teach in three different schools and to whom our Belgian legislature says: 'You have some extra costs, but you have to pay them yourself'. (...) And there are also other disadvantages. For example, someone who teaches in three different schools has three different principals. I suppose he can adjust more easily to one of them. He has three different

types of pupils. And he has, something that is rather important for a teacher, a split up timetable. That is not very pleasant. Because I, I teach my lessons and afterwards I go home or I work here at school. But those teachers, they have to take their car and move on to the next school. They can loose a whole day like that. And those teachers still have to work at home like every other teacher. I think it's normal that their motivation to teach is not the same as it used to be. But of course this has its impact on education and as a consequence on the children. That may not happen. So I think they should change a few things in this re-deployment system. (...)

While most heads had some objections to the system of **tenureship**, none of the teachers mentioned this as a problem. Their criticism of tenureship was limited to its consequence, namely the re-deployment policy. This has already been discussed.

None of the teachers had much comment on the **dismissal of teachers**. Dismissal was something none of the teachers we interviewed had known to happen at their school.

### 3.2. Evaluation of the staff

Apart from the prescribed formal evaluations of new teachers none of the heads paid much attention to the evaluation of teachers. Although several principals considered it important that teachers should be evaluated regularly, none of them had the time to do so.<sup>15</sup> A complaint heard in almost every school concerned the lack of time for the evaluation of education in the school. In general principals considered that they had to undertake too many administrative and financial tasks. Consequently they lacked time for the more important educational tasks such as the

<sup>15</sup> It should be mentioned that in the survey of 1990 when teachers were asked to assess the activities of evaluation by the head they scored 1.84 on 3 in 23 schools. The heads scored 2.13 on 3.



evaluation of teachers.

(...) C01: The possibilities to evaluate our teachers have decreased in recent years. They should divide our tasks. This means that administrative and financial tasks should be considered a separate task so that the principals could pay attention to the pedagogic aspects of school life. (...) That's the most important aspect of school life. For the moment I put 95% of my time in things that should be considered as side-issues and not with what should be the most essential part of education. (...)

This quotation suggests that were the tasks of the principals to be divided among several persons this problem would be solved. However we noticed that even in school E where these tasks were divided, principals did not find the time to evaluate their teachers at regular intervals.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.3. In-service training of teachers<sup>17</sup>

Before focusing on the views and expectations of principals and teachers towards in-service training a short overview on in-service training might be helpful. In-service training is organized by several organizations. Besides the courses being organized by the organizations and institutions of the networks there are independent organizations (without a structural connection with any one of the networks) offering other types of in-service training. The training offered by the network has some advantages. E.g. certain courses organized by subject counsellors have to be

<sup>16</sup> According to the administration school E consists of the first and second grade while the third grade is considered as a separate school. In practice however these bounds are not drawn so strictly. In theory, school E has one head while the third grade has several deputy heads. In practice however the tasks are divided between deputy heads who are all kept busy with a certain aspect of school life. For that reason we interviewed the pedagogic as well as the financial principal of the school.

<sup>17</sup> In 1990 the average participation score of in-service training in twenty-three schools during the last two years was 0.61 on 1. When teachers were asked which type of in-service training, either training in the school or training outside the school, could be integrated in the classroom, they scored 0.44 on 1 for the first, and 0.59 for the second (Verhoeven, e.a., 1992: 76).

attended by the subject teachers and the costs for these courses are refunded to the school by the Department of Education. Participation in in-service training offered by all other organizations is not obligatory and the costs of these courses have to be carried by the schools or the teachers themselves.

#### 3.3.1. Community schools

##### 3.3.1.1. Heads

In Community schools the views of the heads towards in-service training differed. However, they all agreed that in-service training as such was very important for the quality of education; a school today could not be taken seriously without teachers who kept up with the latest developments in their discipline. However, the in-service training as now organized was criticized by the principals of schools A, B, and C. A first criticism, made by the principal of school A, was that these initiatives for in-service training failed to take the reality of the school into account.

(...) A01: I will give you a concrete example. Today we received a letter that a workshop for mathematics will be organized on Friday 11 June, but this is in the middle of the examination period. (...)

A second criticism considers the organization of these courses.

(...) C01: When you ask me whether the results of these in-service training courses has changed I have to say no, because I still think it is very badly organized and a waste of people and resources. I am very negative about it. I would have to search to find people coming to me after a workshop and telling me 'I am glad that I have been there'. (...)

In-service training organized by the industry however was considered very interesting by the head of school B - a technical school. The problem here was the expense of these courses. While for the in-service training organized by the Departement of Education the costs were refunded by the Department, the costs of the former, more interesting courses, had to be paid by the school. The school refunded only half the costs to the teachers.

Whereas the heads of schools A, B, and C were rather negative about in-service training, the principal of school D was very enthusiastic. Contrary to the other principals he believed teachers learned things they could use afterwards in classroom practice. For that reason he claimed that he would do everything in his power to allow teachers to attend these courses. Even when several teachers wanted to participate at the same time he tried to find a solution without detriment to the pupils.

Whereas at schools A and C only the costs for the official in-service training courses were paid by the school, the local school council of school D recently decided that for other courses half the costs would be repaid by the school if these courses were in the interest of the school. As already reported, school B also bore half the costs of the 'non-official' courses.

### 3.3.1.2. Teachers

How did teachers of Community schools experience these in-service training courses and did their views correspond with those of the principals?

The teachers of schools A, B, and C appeared to have a negative attitude towards in-service training. Several reasons were offered. First, these teachers seemed to agree with their heads that the in-service training was badly organized. A second reason concerned the application of these courses. Teachers taught that

in daily classroom practice they could not use the things they learned on these courses. The content of these courses was too theoretical and teachers experienced them as a waste of time. A final reason concerned reimbursement for the cost of courses. The expenses for other than the official courses offered by the Argo had to be paid by the teachers themselves. Transportation costs were rarely refunded. This discouraged teachers to follow these in-service training courses.

(...) A02: They would like you to follow several courses, supplementary in your leisure time, but the expenses are for you.

I: Do the teachers pay for it themselves?

A02: Of course. Yes and then you have got enough of it after a few times. Then you think to yourself when I stay at home at my ease and do the job I have to do, then I have left a higher salary at the end of the month. This makes it not difficult to make the choice because not everybody has the ambition to become principal or inspector and to draw attention to himself/herself through in-service training. (...)

This quotation might also suggest that teachers who frequently follow in-service training courses might be considered 'careerists' by their colleagues.

While the principals of schools A, B, and C had certain criticisms of in-service training but were convinced that further training as such was necessary and had a positive effect on the quality of education, the teachers of these schools were less convinced. With regard to this assessment we have to recall that the teachers interviewed in these schools were teaching rather theoretical courses (Dutch, Latin and Mathematics). It is possible that these teachers felt less need for in-service training, while teachers of technical courses or disciplines the content of which was changing more quickly (e.g. computer science) might attach more importance to in-service training.

The opinion of the teacher of school D differed from those already mentioned, but it seemed to correspond with that of the head of his school about in-service training. He shared his principal's view that in-service training is essential. Teachers received new ideas and have the opportunity to meet colleagues.

While both teachers and principals agreed that the offer of in-service training had increased during the last five years, they did not notice a change in the participation of teachers in further training. Most teachers and principals thought that only a few teachers took in-service training courses. Since none of them could provide figures on the participation of teachers in further training we cannot compare the schools on this issue.

### 3.3.2. Catholic schools

#### 3.3.2.1. Heads

All principals of the Catholic schools we visited agreed that in-service training was very important for teachers and schools. They regarded it as essential for the quality of education that teachers should keep up with new developments in their discipline. Even when the content of these courses was disappointing, the contacts made among teachers of different schools during such a course had a positive influence. Teachers could exchange ideas, talk about their problems and look for solutions together.

Most of the principals also shared the opinion that these courses should pay off immediately. For that reason they did not believe in courses on methodology and teaching methods as such. These courses should reveal the latest developments in the various disciplines. Principals were not opposed to rather methodological courses as such but because of limited resources, they had to make a choice. They had to choose those courses the contributions of which were immediately visible,

they said.

(...) F01: Most of these courses treat subject matter knowledge, never the methods used for teaching. There are courses that do but we don't have the financial means for those courses. I think the most important courses are those that pay off immediately. I am not saying these methodological courses are not paying off, but first we have to treat subject matter knowledge, all those other matters are also important but we have to make a choice. (...)

When principals said that the resources were restricted they meant that while the offer of courses on various subjects was immense, practical problems occurred when teachers wanted to follow some courses. First, there was the problem of substitutes for those teachers. It was not always easy to find substitutes for those teachers and sometimes the courses might be of interest to all the teachers of a certain discipline. Such a situation was not manageable in practice. For that reason most of the time they permitted only one teacher of a discipline to attend such a course. Afterwards this teacher was expected to share the knowledge learned at the in-service training with his colleagues.

Another problem was the lack of money. All principals agreed that it would be desirable for the costs of all these courses to be carried by the school. In practice however this was not possible. Only registration fees for the in-service training organized by the Department of Education were paid back to the teachers by the schools. In most schools transportation costs were paid by the teachers. All principals agreed that this was a matter that should be resolved in the future. They believed that it was asking too much of teachers that they should pay all the expenses for in-service training themselves. However, schools lacked the financial means to pay all the costs. This idea was expressed in the following quotation:

(...) I: Does the school pay the costs?

F01: Yes, the official in-service courses are paid by the school, the course itself and the transportation costs. But there are a lot of other in-service courses that could be interesting, that could also be followed by teachers, but that costs a lot of money and that's our problem. To keep up with the latest developments in their discipline teachers should follow more in-service training courses but we don't have the financial means to offer everyone the opportunity to do so ... (...)

While almost every principal stated that s/he encouraged teachers to take in-service training courses, none of them considered that in-service training by teachers had increased during the last five years. The offer, however, had increased extensively and schools lacked a survey of all the courses that were offered. This caused a new problem, since several courses overlapped and teachers became disappointed. Principals agreed that the offer of in-service training should be more fully co-ordinated.

When principals were asked how many teachers were following in-service training courses, most principals claimed that a 'reasonable' number or 'a lot of teachers' followed courses. What is to be understood by this is not clear. Only two of them gave some figures. The principal of school F said 30% of the teachers followed some kind of in-service course and the principal of school H thought it was about 5%. None of them thought that further training by teachers at their own school had either increased or decreased during the last five years.

### 3.3.2.2. Teachers

Interviews with the teachers about the expectations of in-service training produced the same assessments that we heard from the principals: they preferred practice-oriented courses within their own discipline. Most teachers expected a

concrete answer to their problems and felt the need for knowledge which could immediately be applied in the classroom. They considered it a waste of time to attend theoretical courses about teaching methods. The knowledge learned on these courses should relate to the subject matter content.

(...) F02: I think in-service training should be very practical. Some people respond to this opinion: 'That is an attitude, it may be theoretical and one has to put it in practice afterwards in the classroom'. All very well, but you lose a whole afternoon on such a theoretical course and afterwards you have to do your other work as well. When you want to use what you have learned in the class you have to transmit it and that does not take an afternoon to do so but a few days or a few weeks. This is simply not possible. (...)

While all teachers agreed that frequent participation in in-service training was important for the quality of education, the in-service training did not always achieve this goal. Even though teachers made a selection of courses in view of the output, e.g. only courses with regard to subject matter content were thought interesting: the courses did not always pay off. Most teachers shared the opinion that even carefully selected courses were half the time very interesting but sometimes a total waste of time. Still too many courses were too theoretical and failed to make the connection with the daily classroom practice.

Only two teachers had a different opinion. The teacher of school G thought that almost all these courses were too theoretic and not usable in the classroom.

(...) G02: Actually I can rarely use what I learn there. Some pedagogue invents these things behind his desk and it all sounds very beautifully but if you have to practise it then you say: 'I rather use my own method because I achieve the same results as before.' (...)

The teacher of school K however had the opposite reaction. He believed most of these courses to be significant and almost always applicable in classroom practice.

These views are summarized in the subjoined figure.

Figure 6.9. The view of teachers towards in-service training

In-service training:	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
always pays off							X	
sometimes pays off	X	X		X	X	X		X
never pays off			X					

Whether these courses paid off or not, teachers agreed that the contact with other teachers during these courses was interesting. They met other colleagues and were able to exchange ideas.

Another comment was that in-service trainers did not pay any attention to the practising. Afterwards teachers were too often left to fend for themselves.

(...) F02: I experienced that for example for English. There was an in-service training by someone that was exempted and who collaborated with the inspector for this purpose. He gave in-service training on poems. It was very interesting, he gave an example of how to work with it. Everybody tried to write this down but he wiped out the text on the blackboard too soon. Afterwards we asked whether we could have this practical elaboration. He is exempted for a whole year to give that course so I think it is only normal that he should give this to us. And he said 'Yes, yes, if you are interested, give your name and address and I will send it to all of you.' Well

I think I had to wait for a whole year and I received it rather by accident because I know someone who lives in his neighbourhood who went to ask for it from time to time. And finally we only received the poems as such. (...)

The number of teachers following in-service training apparently depended on the discipline they taught. Teachers of technical courses in particular often took further courses. Teachers as well as principals believed it to be more important for those people to keep up with the latest developments in their discipline than for teachers of more theoretical courses such as languages or mathematics. These areas do not change so quickly.

Heads made the in-service training provision known to teachers or informed them personally when they felt there was an interesting course for a certain discipline, but teachers felt themselves free to attend such courses. This view corresponded with what the heads told us about this topic. When teachers wanted to take these courses principals would permit them to do so if possible. None of the teachers had the feeling that the head was opposed to in-service training as such. But practical problems such as the substitution of teachers might prevent principals from giving their permission. For that reason heads would rather permit teachers to attend in-service training courses on free afternoons and at the weekends. For the same reason in-service training courses for technical subjects were more easily permitted because they were considered more urgent than those for theoretical courses.

Finally we want to draw attention to some discrepancies between the view of the heads and the teachers on the number of teachers who practise in-service training courses. While in most schools these views seem to correspond, teachers and principals of schools F and G had divergent opinions. The principal of school F stated that at least 30 % of the teachers followed some further training, which was



a reasonable percentage in his view. The teachers, on the other hand, thought that there were few teachers taking in-service training courses (whether they were talking about the same percentage is not clear since the teacher was not able to give a percentage). At school G the principal talked about a 'reasonable' number of teachers while the teacher said:

(...) G02: ... the teachers who take in-service training courses, that's a very small group. I think I can count them on one hand, that's very sporadic. (...)

This might indicate a different expectation of teachers and principals. But as principals and teachers had difficulties in giving a percentage figure for teachers taking in-service training courses we are not sure whether they are talking about the same figures.

### 3.4. Engagement of the teachers

The engagement of teachers in school life was considered very important by all respondents in all schools. When the interviewees were asked how they perceived the involvement of the teachers in their school, they referred not only to their part in the decision-making of the school as already elaborated above (1.1.3. *Participation of teachers*), but also to their participation in extra-curricular school activities: schools organized school parties, open days, holiday projects, sports for pupils and several other after-school activities. In the organization of all these activities teachers played an important part.

(...) B01: At every school, group loyalty is very important. We feel this spirit for instance at open days. The staff is willing to work a whole day, everybody in his way. The maintenance staff makes food, teachers teach demonstration lessons and so on. It is very important people are willing to engage in the school. (...)

The degree of commitment of the teachers in these aspects of school life differed from teacher to teacher and from school to school. While none of the schools complained about the engagement of their teachers in general, several schools noticed that it is always the same small group doing an enormous amount of work, while others only stuck to prescribed teaching load (schools B, C, F, G, H, I, and L).

(...) G01: We have teachers who are very devoted to the school and do all they can for the school. Some people even have to be slowed down because they always have new ideas. Other teachers say: 'I have taught my classes and I am going home'. That really differs from teacher to teacher. It's always the same people engaging themselves after working hours. (...)

At schools I, J, and K, every teacher had to join a project group of his choice. These project groups were occupied with publicity, sports, open days, schoolbuildings, pastoral care, etc... The project groups were established to prevent some teachers leaving all the work to others. In spite of these project groups there were still teachers more involved in school life than others. In general, schools I, J, and K are happy with the degree of involvement of their teachers.

Besides these extra-curricular activities most schools also provided supplementary tuition for their pupils. However in none of the schools we visited were these lessons systematically organized.<sup>18</sup> Teachers were able to volunteer to provide supplementary tuition and consequently did not receive any compensation for this task. Most teachers were willing to give their pupils extra tuition when they had problems with certain parts of the subject matter. E.g. pupils having been ill could always receive supplementary tuition if necessary. These courses took place during lunch hours or other breaks. However neither heads nor teachers wanted to

<sup>18</sup> However for pupils of the first grade most schools organized supplementary tuition. E.g. at school E a teacher was made free for several hours to coach pupils in vocational education. At school H several teachers were exempted for a few hours to provide extra tuition to pupils with difficulties.

provide extra tuition systematically and permanently. They argued that when pupils systematically need these extra courses it was obvious that they were not in the right track and need to be re-oriented. Whereas all respondents claimed to be ready to provide extra tuition if necessary, the attitude towards supplementary tuition of pupils has to be differentiated. As for the other after-school activities, the willingness of teachers to provide extra tuition differed from person to person.

All respondents, teachers as well as heads, appeared to agree that the task of teachers had increased in recent years. On the one hand, teachers were now charged with tasks which did not belong to their task in the past, e.g., the broader educational task of teachers had increased. Some years ago, teachers were not obliged to teach some periods to compensate for the hours that they spent in class councils or to fulfil their task as class director. Whereas these hours were too few to compensate entirely for these tasks, they were experienced as a recognition of the teachers' work. Now teachers were expected to undertake all these duties on top of their obligatory periods.

(...) J02: In the past we received for instance two to three periods to compensate for our extra work. Of course this was not nearly enough, but we felt it as a support and an appreciation of our job. (...)

Among other things, the increasing administrative tasks, e.g. the extensive reports that had to be kept of every class council, and the increasing interference of parents<sup>19</sup> were mentioned as aspects hampering teachers' work and diminishing their motivation and commitment.

<sup>19</sup> Most respondents mentioned that parents interfered more easily in the decisions of school or teachers than they did in the past. E.g., punishments imposed by teachers were not always accepted by the parents. A large part of the parents tended to believe their children rather than the teachers.

An other problem reducing the dedication of teachers was the policy of re-deployment. Re-deployed teachers had to attend several class councils and staff meetings in each school in which they teach. Moreover, they could not participate in extra-curricular activities in all these schools. This was a pressure on schools where the number of re-deployed teachers was rather large. All extra-curricular activities had to be organized by the full-time teachers. Although most teachers had sympathy for these problems, sometimes tension was created between full-time teachers and others.

### 3.5. Co-operation and deliberation among teachers

Co-operation and deliberation among teachers took place in class councils, subject work groups, and in a rather informal way.

Co-operation and deliberation among teachers in **subject work groups** was limited to teachers of the same subject. Schools were not obliged to establish subject work groups; but they were free to do so. When schools organized subject work groups, these groups discussed the subject matter, the choice of textbooks and methods of evaluation. However, in most schools these work groups were not working in practice.

The teachers of mathematics were asked whether there was such a work group, and if so, whether it was working in practice. Figure 6.10 shows the answers.



Figure 6.10. Subject work groups for mathematics

Subject work groups	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
are not established	X	X	X	X						X		
are established but not working in practice					X	X	X	X	X			X
are established and working in practice											X	

Figure 6.10. shows that the Community schools in our sample had no subject work groups for mathematics. Whereas most Catholic schools had established a subject work group, none of them considered it to be important for co-operation and deliberation among maths teachers.<sup>20</sup> The only school where this project group met more than twice a year was school K, and even then these subject work groups were not considered to be the most important instruments for deliberation. In the other schools deliberation on issues that should be discussed in the subject work groups took place in a rather informal way, during lunch hours or in other free moments in the staff room or corridor.

Most respondents did not feel the need for such subject work groups. Co-operation and deliberation among teachers already existed before the establishment of these work groups and had not changed since.

(...) I: Do you have subject work groups in the school?

J03: No, but we don't think these are necessary. We meet each other every day. We have free periods regularly and in those moments we talk. These

<sup>20</sup> In a former project subject work groups were very important in private schools (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 153-154). They had a lot of activities. The situation seemed to be changed. Nevertheless a definite answer is hard to give. None of the projects relies on a representative sample of schools. As far as the schools of the current projects were concerned most subject work groups of mathematics did not function.

are not endless meetings but short conversations. (...) We have no communication problems in this school. The transfer of information is working very well here. (...)

Co-operation and deliberation among teachers concerned textbooks, subject matter, teaching equipment, sometimes evaluation methods but never teaching methods.<sup>21</sup> In relation to the latter it should be stressed that most teachers did not want interference in their own teaching methods.

The degree of co-operation and deliberation differed from school to school. E.g., in some schools deliberation with regard to textbooks was limited to consulting each other, but teachers themselves chose the textbook; in school I the teachers of mathematics worked out a textbook of their own. Every teacher wrote a chapter, and interesting exercises or examples were being distributed among the colleagues.

Influenced by the report of the new inspectorate the head of school H remarked that in the future subject work groups should function better. The report of the new inspectorate showed that the co-operation and deliberation among subject teachers should be more fully co-ordinated and more systematic. For that reason the head had decided that subject teachers should meet at least once a term. The teacher of mathematics however considered that although co-operation between the teachers of mathematics was rather informal in the past, this co-operation always functioned well.

Although most respondents confirmed that co-operation and deliberation among the teachers of mathematics progressed smoothly, it seemed that not all teachers were always involved in this process. The teachers of school B and F admitted that the co-operation among teachers of mathematics did not always

<sup>21</sup> It should be mentioned that with regard to these subjects teachers were influenced by several official bodies. The choice of the subject matter for instance, was in the first place determined by the curriculum and by the inspection.

proceed in the same way. Among some teachers there was close co-operation, among others there was almost no contact. This depended on personal contacts.

Another place of deliberation among teachers was the **class council**. Whereas subject work groups were restricted to deliberation and co-operation among teachers of a particular discipline, in class councils all the teachers of a particular form met. At these class councils, teachers deliberated on the evaluation of pupils, on pupils or classes with disciplinary problems, discipline at school as a whole, and so on. In contrast with the case of the subject work groups, all respondents emphasized the importance of these class councils.

The number of class council meetings was however restricted. In the past most schools organized these councils twice a month and sometimes even once a week. Teachers had to teach fewer periods in order to attend them. This reduction of the teaching load was considered to be a compensation for the time spent in the class council. As already mentioned above, these hours have been abolished.<sup>22</sup> Since then the number of class council meetings has been limited and in the schools we visited this number varied from five to ten meetings a year. Although teachers regarded the abolition of this compensation as a loss, the restriction of the number of class council meetings is not really seen as a disadvantage. In the past, the number of meetings was considered exaggerated. Besides teachers thought that if there were a need for an extra meeting, they could always call an extra class council.

These class councils have several functions. In an earlier publication (Devos, Vandenberghe, Verhoeven, 1989: 151) the orientation and evaluation of pupils were described as the most important functions. In this project, too, all the teachers

<sup>22</sup> Under the influence of the austerity policy schools had to save. One of the means in many schools was the abolition of the principle that hours spent in the class council were considered to be part of the statutory teaching load of the teacher. Participation in class councils is still compulsory, but it is up to the head to consider them as part of the compulsory periods a teacher has to teach. None of the sampled schools did.

agreed that the evaluation of pupils in the class council had to be taken very seriously. For that reason, problems which pupils might have at home or other matters influencing pupils' achievement or behaviour in the classroom were discussed in the class council.

The function of orientation and re-orientation of pupils is equally important. Class councils delivered orientation certificates at the end of the schoolyear and could also re-orientate pupils at the beginning of the schoolyear. One of the problems with regard to this orientation task concerned the parents. Several parents did not agree with the advice or decisions of the class council. In particular, when pupils were advised to change to another track, parents would not always follow the class councils' advice. E.g. when pupils attending general education were advised to move to technical education parents would try hard to keep their child within general education, even when this meant that the child had to repeat a year.

An indicator of the importance of the class council was the report of the meeting of this council. In comparison with previous practice, the reports of these class councils were expanded. Schools had to be able to justify every decision concerning the evaluation of pupils. The attitude towards these reports was ambiguous. Whereas all respondents agreed that these decisions had to be justified, not all of them were happy with the increased workload which that entailed.

(...) C01: In the past it was not always clear how decisions on the passing of pupils were taken. Now the reports of the class councils have to justify in detail why a pupil has failed. The reasons have to be clearly described. (...) I feel this influences the effectiveness for the better. These rules enhance the continuity of the decisions. It prevents the situation arising in which in one class a pupil with four failures is permitted to take re-examinations whereas in another class someone with two failures is not permitted to take re-examinations. (...)

(...) H01: Some teachers have to attend a lot of meetings. Besides these meetings we have the class councils creating an enormous amount of work. We have to make an extensive report of every class council. Although I understand the reason why we have to make these reports, they mean extra work again and we have no hours to compensate for this work. (...)

Formal co-operation other than the instance mentioned above did not exist in one of the schools we visited. Most teachers seemed to be keen on their pedagogical freedom. Whereas in some schools co-operation went rather far (e.g. school I) none of the teachers wanted any interference from colleagues whatsoever in their own classroom. E.g., team-teaching or interference in teaching methods seemed to be a taboo for most teachers.

This did not mean that no other informal cooperation is possible. Already in chapter 4 we referred to a rather low level of collaboration among teachers (general average 0.49 on 1) and a somewhat higher appreciation of the fraternal atmosphere among them (general average: 0.67 on 1) in some schools in 1990 (Verhoeven e.a., 1992: 70). The first figure in particular indicated a rather weak level of collaboration among teachers, but at the same time it unveils the fact that informal cooperation was going on.

#### § 4. Inspectorate and pedagogical counselling services

Before the recent reform of the inspectorate, inspection and pedagogical counselling were considered as one. The inspectors were expected to do both, inspect and advise teachers. With the decree of 17th July 1991, inspectorate and pedagogical counselling became two autonomous services: one common inspectorate for the two networks and two pedagogical counselling services connected with the networks. In this paragraph we examine the expectations and experiences of

teachers and principals relative to these renewed services.

#### 4.1. Inspectorate

First, we should note that only two schools in our sample already had been inspected by the new inspectorate. All comments from the other schools were expectations - expectations influenced by what had been read about the subject or heard from colleagues who had already been visited by the new inspectorate.

We have noticed that the views of the principals and the teachers differed on some issues with regard to the inspectorate and the pedagogical counselling. We stress the differences in opinion where necessary. The 'old' and 'new' inspectorates were compared to one another in the interviews. We shall also treat them together.

In general teachers were dissatisfied with the old inspectorate. It is remarkable that most of the teachers did not frequently meet with the former inspectors. Several teachers who had worked in schools for over twenty years had had only three to four visits during this whole period. Most of the time these visits had lasted for about half an hour. The most extreme example was found at school F, where the teacher we interviewed, in the twenty-sixth year that he had worked as a teacher, had never had any inspection apart from a ten minute visit necessary for his appointment.

To understand the low frequency of visits of inspectors in the old inspectorate, it should be remembered that the inspectorate organized by the Community had to visit Catholic schools only when these schools started offering a new track or specialization. In Catholic schools (before the new inspectorate) curriculum and didactics were inspected by the inspector of the network (see Chapter 1, 3.4). Therefore, it was not unusual for teachers not to encounter

Community inspectors very often, or never to encounter them. Depending on the school it was also possible that subject inspectors (of the Catholic network) did not visit either. Indeed these inspectors had to do the work without remuneration.

All respondents shared the opinion that the former system as such had been too much directed to inspecting without any attention for counselling. Both principals and teachers agreed that the results of these visits were often connected with the personality of the inspector. Certain inspectors kept busy with triviality and only criticized teachers. Others also made positive contributions and could be compared with the new pedagogical counsellors.

Before discussing the new inspectorate we need to make a distinction between the schools which had already been visited by the team and those which had not. Our sample consists of two schools which had already been examined by the new inspectorate, school H and school L. In these schools all comments were positive. Principals as well as teachers had a positive impression of this visit. A principal:

(...) L01: It is good to have a careful examination of the school because a school has the tendency to harp on the same string. (...)

However, we have to take into consideration that both schools received a rather positive report of the new inspection team. This might explain the enthusiastic reactions of all the respondents at these schools.

It should be mentioned that these inspectors had not only spoken to the principal and the teachers but had also interviewed pupils and parents. Most of the participants agreed that this had given a more representative image of the school. Whereas in former visits feed-back was rather restricted, the new inspectorate had made an extensive report on the shortcomings of the school as well as more positive

assessments. This report had been sent to the organizing authority and the principal of the school. In the two schools this report had been discussed with the staff afterwards. At school H the report was discussed in the 'class councils' and at the participation council. At school L the report was discussed with the staff and at the participation council as well. In both schools all members of the participation council received a copy of the report.

Whereas the activity of the former inspectors was limited to a particular subject, the new inspectorate consisted of a team of inspectors having the task of making a global analysis of the school. This is something that teachers as well as principals were very pleased about.

The above assessment is expressed in the following quotation:

(...) G02: Maybe the new inspectorate will succeed to draw a broad image of the school. Before this view was delivered by fragmentary reports of one inspector ... Even when an inspector came to attend a lesson of Dutch, German or English, it was impossible for him to develop a broad view of the school. I think this new group will be able to discover the weaknesses of the school and I think that is quite a step. If one is pointed to the fact there are some possible corrections to be made because that goes wrong and if he can help to make these corrections, I think, that is very positive. (...)

Principals as well as teachers of the schools which were not already inspected by the new inspectorate expressed their willingness to adjust to the assessments this inspection team will make. Even shortages noticed by this team were considered to be a positive contribution. At schools H and L teachers as well as principals had already paid some attention to the problems the new inspectorate indicated.

The expectations of teachers and principals of schools which had not yet been visited by the new inspectorate were based on what they read about it and the rumours they had heard from schools who had already been visited by the new inspectorate. It was not very long before nicknames began to circulate to describe the new inspectorate: 'the bus ...', 'the flying brigade ...', 'the bees and the wasps ...'. In certain schools the teachers were frightened in advance of the team that would distress the school for a whole week.

In spite of these rumours most of these teachers and principals expected an improvement from the new inspectorate. But both teachers and principals were very careful with these statements. They made a distinction between theory and practice. Most of them agreed that in theory this was a major improvement. But they were not sure that there would be a real change.

A comment that was heard in almost every school of our sample was that the former inspection was nothing but a snapshot. A principal:

(...) B01: And it happens that a less good teacher got a good report and a good teacher got a bad report. Because it is no more than a snapshot in my opinion. (...)

Not only was it considered to be a snapshot but schools also experienced little continuity in the approach:

(...) J02: Because we haven't seen any inspectors for a few years. But these inspectors can be very strange in these matters ... It was real snapshots. I had inspectors, they sat down and looked at their watch, it is that hour, that date, that class, ... that hour you had to give that lesson content and it had to be like that, but they never told us how they did it themselves.

I: They gave support?

J02: We had no support, it was snapshots, it was destructive criticism, very often destructive criticism ... Contradictory criticism. For example one month I got inspection for one subject and the inspector said I think that's very good and the other month there was another inspector who told completely the opposite. (...)

Most of the respondents expected that the new inspectorate would correct this.

(...) G01: They are coming and that's, I think, to inspect the school as a whole. They don't just come to watch closely how one teaches, but they talk to the pupils and so on. And they also look at other aspects of the education, it is a careful examination of the school. And I think, I hope that it continues that way and that it will be positive. (...)

Although most of the teachers expected this new inspectorate to be more efficient than the former system they were not sure that this system, which appeared as theoretically a big improvement, would also be efficient in practice.

While most respondents expected an improvement from the new inspectorate, how small it might be, the principal of school I had a divergent opinion. He expected no improvement from the new inspectorate whatsoever. The reasons for that are expressed in the following quotation:

(...) I: Do you expect an improvement with the new inspectorate?

I01: I don't know ... I don't know ... it will not last very long that they visit the schools every six years. If they have been at your school you are safe for another six years. That is not healthy. I think that inspection ... Whether this system is going to hold ... I doubt it. Visiting all the schools every six years. First of all, if they want to do their work seriously, they

won't be able to visit all those schools in six years. (...). I have also heard that if they are there for a week, before they are adjusted, a little bit at home in the school, already half the day has past. Yes, Wednesday afternoon the school is empty and yes ... Thursday this one doesn't come and that one does ... (...)

The expectations which teachers and principals entertained towards the new inspectorate in general are summarized for the sake of clarity in the following figures. Schools H and L are not presented in these figures since they had already had a visit of the new inspection team.

Figure 6.11. Expectations of teachers towards the new inspectorate

New inspectorate is:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	I	J	K
an improvement					X		X			X
an improvement in theory	X	X		X		X		X	X	
results remain connected with the personality of the inspector			X							

Figure 6.12. Expectations of principals towards the new inspectorate

New inspectorate is:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	I	J	K
an improvement	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
an improvement in theory			X							
no improvement in comparison with the former inspectorate								X		

#### 4.2. Pedagogical counselling services

Expectations respecting the Pedagogical Counselling Services (PBD) diverged, but these differences did not correspond to the division between Community and Catholic schools even though each network had developed its own services with different accents. On the one hand, you had those schools which had not enjoyed much counselling from inspectors in the past. These respondents expected that with the new Pedagogical Counselling Service there would be improvement in the situation. On the other hand, there was the more pessimistic view of those who expected no real change in the situation with respect to counselling since the staff of the Catholic PBD as well as of the Community PBD was mainly composed of former inspectors. We should add that most of our respondents had not yet met the new pedagogical counsellors. In most of the schools, the counsellors had already made acquaintance with the principals but had not really visited the teachers in order to provide them with counselling. We might mention here that it was up to the schools to invite the pedagogical counsellors. It appeared that some schools had already applied for the help of the pedagogical counselling service. School D was an exception to this rule. The principal affirmed that the first visit of the counsellors had been very positive. For the first time in his career he had received a positive note from a counsellor with felicitations for one of the teachers. The visit itself had also been a positive experience.

(...) I: And what did such a visit consist of?

D01: Well that was very positive. (...) They also asked ideas of the teachers, it was not only imposing like it used to be ten or twenty years ago, no ... but trying to complete each other ... I was overjoyed with that first visit. (...)

At the time when we visited the schools, schools H and L were expecting some of these pedagogical counsellors in the near future. They seemed to expect some help from the pedagogical counsellors to solve the problems indicated by the



new inspection team. As the other schools had no experience of the new pedagogical counsellors at the time when we visited them, we restrict this topic to the schools mentioned above rather than offering general expectations.

## § 5. Financial and equipment management

### 5.1. Financial management of the schools

The major part of the financial resources for schools is provided by the Community. The operating costs are distributed between the schools on the basis of points per pupil (see chapter 1). In addition, schools try to find additional financial resources through the activities of the parents' organizations, by selling food and beverages or by support from industrial or commercial concerns. The last of these methods of increasing resources is discussed under 2.3.1. *Local industrial and commercial concerns* (of this chapter).

#### 5.1.1. Community schools

##### 5.1.1.1. The Community donation

Recently the financial management of Community schools has been changed. Whereas the Central Council of the ARGO is responsible for the preparation of the budget of the community network, each local school council has the right to buy and administer the school equipment. The control of an adequate appropriation of the budget is the responsibility of a government commissioner and the ARGO office of examiners (see chapter 1, 3.2, and chapter 2, 3.2).

As such, these new responsibilities were considered to be an improvement in local school management by all respondents at the Community schools.

(...) A01: In the past we had another system. It was very different, more patronizing. We received a certain amount of money for certain costs. And if we didn't spend all this money we had to repay it to the state. As a consequence all schools tried to spend the full amount of money they received. It was a waste of money. And when we needed something we had to write over and over again, to receive the necessary resources. Now we receive a donation calculated on the basis of points per pupil. (...)

In practice, however, principals as well as teachers shared the feeling that the new financial system had not improved their situation. Local autonomy had increased on paper but resources were too restricted. As a consequence nothing had really changed. Decisions could be taken more quickly, but school policy was always constrained by the lack of financial resources.

(...) C01: The power of schools to pursue their own financial management has increased but resources are so small that we always have to make choices and decide on our priorities. (...) We have our freedom ... but with too little money. (...) In practice our freedom of movement is zero. Our management consists of the determination of a hierarchy of needs. (...)

All principals complained of the lack of money. They all felt something should change in the future.

(...) C01: Maybe it's a fatalistic term but I call myself an executor of a will. It can't go on the way it does now. We are lucky that our school is in a rather good condition. However, if you look at these windows for example, they should be painted very urgently but we don't have the money. The windows should be cleaned at least once a month and we can only do it twice a year with our own staff. (...)



The establishment of the local school councils provided teachers and parents with more information about the financial situation of the school. However most teachers and parents feel that information alone would not do. The donation which schools received was insufficient, hence there was no room to discuss the use of the donation. Discussions on this topic were regarded as a mere formality. It was already difficult enough for a school to pay all its fixed costs, and the residue was quickly apportioned. One of the parents:

(...) D04: At the local school council we receive information on the financial situation of the school. (...) But we can't do anything with this information. All I see is that they receive a donation and that the donation is not sufficient. It's as simple as that. (...)

#### 5.1.1.2. Extra financial resources

When schools were asked what additional resources they had at their disposal they were rather reserved. Most of them were not too eager to provide information about their extra financial resources, and consequently our information on this issue is restricted to what the heads were willing to reveal.

Principals indicated that they tried to enhance their budget by several activities. School parties and other activities organized by parents' organizations were mentioned as one means by which schools sought to gain a little extra money.

None of these schools obtained extra financial resources by selling food or beverages. They claimed that these services were not meant to make a profit.

None of the heads attached great importance to these extra financial resources. They maintained that the yield from these activities was too small to consider them as important aspects of financial management. However, such

activities were considered as providing a little extra help.

#### 5.1.2. Catholic schools

##### 5.1.2.1. Donation

For Catholic schools the recent situation had not changed very much. However the distribution of the operating costs was criticized. The operating costs were distributed between schools on the basis of points per pupil.<sup>23</sup> Principals as well as teachers observed that this way of subsidizing caused serious problems for schools. Since most schools had had to deal with declining school enrolments, the donation had decreased. Fixed costs however remained the same.

According to the teachers, one of the consequences of this policy was that schools attempted to keep all pupils at school. Every pupil leaving the school caused a loss of financial resources. Some teachers commented that their principal was not always happy when pupils had to repeat a year. When too many pupils failed to pass their examinations, some principals asked teachers to account for this. In some schools the fear of losing pupils appeared to determine school policy with regard to holding failed pupils back for a year. Teachers considered that this had a negative effect on the quality of education. The principals however relativized these matters. The principal of school I e.g., told us that it was indeed his custom to talk to his teachers when too many pupils failed the exams for a certain course. In his opinion, however, this had nothing to do with the attempt to avoid making pupils repeat a year and teachers were never told to adjust their exams so that such retention of pupils might be avoided. However, a teacher whom we interviewed, had a different opinion.

<sup>23</sup> The working means for all networks are divided by means of a system of points per pupil. In the past, working means for subsidized schools were apportioned according to the number of pupils, whereas Community Education received an overall amount, annually adapted to the change in the costs of living.

## 5.1.2.2. Extra financial resources

Most schools disclosed that there were other resources besides the donation of the Community. All principals shared the opinion that this donation was not sufficient to fulfil the needs of the schools. Every Catholic school in our sample sought to add some extra resources to the official donation.

All schools organized school parties, 'eating-days', tombolas, and several other activities to collect extra money. As in Community schools, most principals of the Catholic schools however considered the scale of these activities to be a mere flea-bite. Principals maintained that these activities brought in only a small amount of money.

Some principals predicted that the lack of financial means was going to cause serious problems in the future. Certain important expenditures were being postponed year after year. Principals wondered what might happen when they could no longer be postponed.

Contrary to the situation in Community schools, most teachers had no idea of the financial situation of the school. Only at those schools which had a works council were teachers informed about the financial situation (schools J, K and L). At school G, the works council did not function as it should with the result that even teachers who were members of this council were not informed about the financial situation of the school. Teachers who attended these works councils were not supposed to reveal to their colleagues financial information about the school. As a consequence, most teachers in the school were uninformed about the financial situation of their school.

However most of them knew of the financial problems of their school. They had no opinion of the specific financial situation but they appreciated that resources

are insufficient and that this lack of money might confront the schools with serious problems in the future.

## 5.2. Equipment management

With regard to equipment management we have to emphasize that the results of our questionnaire with regard to this topic are restricted to how principals and teachers regarded equipment management at their school. We noticed that whereas some schools were comparable one with another with regard to equipment management, certain respondents brought up several problems while others had the feeling that there was nothing to complain about in their school. The time we were able to spend questioning respondents was too short for us to be able to give a complete description of the provision in each school. Consequently we emphasize especially the shortages as well as the satisfactions which respondents experienced.

## 5.2.1. Community schools

Two of the community schools we visited had very modern and new buildings (schools A and B) while the two other schools were lodged in older buildings.

School A is housed in relatively new buildings constructed about seven years ago, and these give a modern and clean impression. Nevertheless, the situation is not considered ideal for education. The principal felt that the school accommodation was too small. There was a shortage of classrooms and the refectory e.g. had to be shared with the pupils of the primary school. Consequently, not all pupils could have lunch at the same time. For that reason the pupils of school A had to attend five periods in the morning instead of only four. This was considered a big disadvantage. Five periods in the morning was regarded as too great a burden for pupils. With regard to the available equipment no special complaints were heard.

The principal of school B was rather satisfied with the accommodation of his school. The organization of the building was seen to be very functional. The largest part of the school was five years old and was located on the outskirts of the town. The school had its own sports hall and several other well-equipped classrooms.

School C was housed in relatively old buildings. The school was built in the years after World War II in the centre of the city. This principal did not complain about the age of the buildings or the lack of space. However the lack of money to renew the equipment was considered a serious defect. The computer equipment was really getting out of date. The material for physical education had had to be repaired over and over again instead of buying new material.

In spite of the relatively old building in which school D was lodged, the principal of school D did not mention serious problems with regard to the infrastructure and equipment of the school. However the teachers and the parents we interviewed did not share his opinion. The equipment appeared to be a little out of date and there was a serious lack of classrooms.

(...) D04: The school receives a donation and this donation is not sufficient. It's as simple as that. But certain things are really problematical. For example, some courses have to take place at the other side of the city. They need a school bus to transport the pupils to these classes and in fact that's all wasted money. But we are forced to because of the lack of classrooms.  
(...)

### 5.2.2. Catholic schools

At school E, the first and the second grade of the school were lodged in separate buildings. The first grade was housed in rather old buildings at the centre of the city, the second grade in new buildings on the outskirts. This was not really

regarded as a disadvantage. By putting the pupils of the first grade on a separate campus this school had the advantages of a middle school. The pupils from primary school could adjust to secondary education before they were merged in with the mass of older children. It was, however, remarked that the school was without any luxuries. The buildings were old; equipment was not always up-to-date; there was a lack of classrooms; the walls between the classrooms were too thin so that some teachers could hear each other when they were teaching. Although all these disadvantages were commented on, neither teachers nor principals considered that they had a negative effect on the quality of education.

(...) E01: We have no luxury, but we have what's necessary. Every penny we spend is turned three times. If we had a few millions to buy new equipment then we would have a projector for every classroom, curtains everywhere and so on. But I am not sure that would automatically mean that the education would improve. (...) The teachers of hotel management for example, when they started this department there was almost no equipment. They had to work with very primitive cooking-utensils. But the graduates of those first years can cook everywhere. They always knew how to resolve practical problems. (...) Teachers have to be more creative because certain equipment can't be bought. They have to find solutions for this lack but, I don't think this affects the quality of education in a negative way. (...)

School F had buildings of fifty years of age, but some parts were not older than five. Although school F was also an urban school, the lack of space was no problem. The equipment management however was seen as a problem. The principal believed that the school had not enough resources to keep up with the new developments in computer science, labs and so on. The material for those courses was too expensive. The school could not buy the necessary equipment.

The principal of school G thought that his school had everything necessary to provide proper education. The school buildings were about thirty years old but had large classrooms, well-equipped classes for computer science, labs, two libraries, two staff rooms, one for smokers, one for non smokers, and so on. In his opinion, teachers were also satisfied with the available accommodation.

School H was housed in new and renovated buildings at the centre of the city. The principal of school H was aware that his school was not the most modern and well-equipped school, though he envisaged several possible improvements. However, he did not believe that the quality of equipment really affected the quality of education. Pupils had no classes of their own which was to be considered a disadvantage. Certain equipment could not be bought because of lack of means. But the attitude of the principal was one of 'making the best of it'.

School I was lodged in old buildings at the centre of the city. The largest part of the school was built in 1960, smaller parts were added in 1984. The organization of the buildings was considered to be not really efficient. As a consequence school I had not enough space. The lack of classrooms was considered especially annoying.

School J was also housed in rather old buildings and was located at the centre of the city. The same problems occurred as in school I. In particular the lack of space and the organization of the building was considered detrimental.

School K was housed in both old and new buildings in the centre of the city. School K also had to cope with lack of space, which posed problems for the school. The school had to use its sports accommodation which was on the other side of the road for general education. The courses in physical education for pupils in general education might increase in the future, and in consequence the principal expected to have some problems with the available space in the future. Next to these

problems the lack of financial means prevented him from buying the necessary equipment. This was seen as a real disadvantage.

(...) K01: For example, we installed a new classroom for physics two years ago. Well, we still have no running water, no gas, no waste-pipe and so on. Teachers have to manage and have to make the best of it. (...)

School L was also built in the city. The school consisted of several buildings which expanded together with the growth of the number of pupils. As a result the organization of the buildings was rather complex and not really efficient. Together with complaints on the lack of teaching equipment, we heard complaints of lack of space and in particular lack of classrooms.

### 5.2.3. Consultation among teachers

During the interviews the teachers of mathematics were asked which steps they had to take to acquire teaching materials. In most schools that we visited, teachers directly addressed the principal for small materials. For more important equipment such as computers most teachers consulted other colleagues before they talked to the principal. However this discussion among teachers did not take place in official councils. E.g. teachers talked to each other in the staff room between courses or in the lobby. At schools B, F, G, and H, even the purchase of more expensive equipment was not discussed among teachers. These teachers claimed that they talked directly with the principal on these matters without first consulting their colleagues.

With regard to teaching materials none of the teachers was completely satisfied. When teachers asked for small items which were not too expensive they would normally receive them whenever possible. However most teachers experienced a shortage of classrooms, computers, extra video materials and so on.

Teachers understood that these matters are not always easy to realize. None of the teachers perceived the situation at their school as ideal, but they tried to make do with what they had. Whereas most teachers had no complete view about the financial situation of the school, they all seemed to be aware of the lack of resources with which all schools had to struggle. This attitude is summarized in the following quotation:

(...) G03: When we need something we turn to the head and if it is somewhat necessary we receive the thing we asked for. But of course we have to reckon with the lack of financial resources. (...)

#### 5.2.4. The quality of education

Although most principals thought that their school had several disadvantages and that its equipment could be improved, none of them believed that this had serious consequences for the quality of education. The attitude we encountered may be summarized as follows: 'Schools can not always provide education in the best circumstances but we have to make the best of it.' The quality of education was still much more dependent on the quality of the teachers and the school climate than on the available infrastructure. Nevertheless, it would be easier to provide good education if the resources were not so restricted. In the future, however, principals and teachers expected insurmountable problems were the situation not to improve. All respondents even expected the situation to worsen in the future because of the declining number of enrolments. Since the donation which the schools received was calculated on the basis of points per pupil the declining number of pupils was considered as one of the serious problems which education would have to deal with in the future. For that reason some respondents, especially teachers, pleaded for the increase in scale of educational institutions.

#### 5.3. Distribution of financial resources

With regard to the distribution of financial resources most principals were not able to give us the exact figures. Most of them gave vague answers when they were asked how financial resources were distributed. We are able to mention only some of the trends we noticed regarding this topic.

It has to be emphasized that all schools felt that there was a lack of financial resources. Because of this inadequacy most of these resources were used to pay fixed costs: e.g. staff, energy, payment of the mortgage for the buildings, and so on. Only a small part of the resources was used for equipment. Almost every principal remarked that these fixed costs were increasing every year. The budget left for equipment was getting smaller year by year.

(...) B01: 80% of my donation is spent on wages and energy. So 80% of our budget is spent on gas, electricity, light, wages ... And we still have to try and do all the rest with the money that is left over. (...)

(...) F01: I think the fixed costs are increasing during recent years. For example the energy has become more expensive in recent years. Beyond that we have new buildings which bring about extra costs. The result of all this is that there is still less money left for teaching equipment. This equipment also has become very expensive. The question is how can we procure this equipment. Especially equipment for computer science is very expensive. We can't keep up with developments in that area ... We have to see what the future will bring ... (...)

With regard to the distribution of financial resources we may conclude that principals had the feeling that this was out of their hands. Financial resources were considered too small to enable them to decide on their distribution. When the fixed

costs were paid only very little of their resources was left. Principals believed that only the most urgent needs could be met from the financial resources they had at their disposal.

## § 6. The meaning of the curriculum and the evaluation of effectiveness

### 6.1. The unified structure

At the time of our visits to the schools, the unified structure was not yet organized in all grades. This was the case only in the first and the second grade. The third grade was still structured according to Type I or Type II. It is planned that in 1995 all secondary education will have a unified structure (see chapter 1, 2.2. *Secondary education*). In our sample only one school was entirely of that type. School D is a middle school and consequently offered only education for pupils of the first grade.

Table 3.1 in chapter 1 already showed an overview of the type of education of the schools of our sample. In figure 6.13 we repeat this information.

Figure 6.13. Types of education offered in the sampled schools<sup>24</sup>

SCHOOL	TYPE
A	1/3
B	1/3
C	1/3
D	3
E	2/3
F	2/3
G	1/3
H	1/3
I	2/3
J	2/3
K	1/2/3
L	1/3

First, schools were asked whether they generally experienced the establishment of the unified structure as an improvement. Second, we asked which characteristics of the unified structure the interviewees experienced as an improvement and which they did not. Since lack of time had prevented all characteristics of the unified structure from being discussed systematically during

<sup>24</sup> 1 = Type I  
2 = Type II  
3 = Unified structure



our own interviews, we were fortunate in being able to rely on the M.A.-thesis of Ilse Beuselinck (1993). She made four case studies of schools focusing on the meaning of the unified structure for the equality of educational opportunities. Thus she touched on many of the problems in which we were interested.

First, it should be stressed that schools of Type I did not in general experience the unified structure as a big change. They regarded the establishment of Type I as having more important consequences than those of the unified structure. In Type II schools the change was felt to be more radical. However, none of the schools we visited were unconditionally positive or negative about the unified structure. As already mentioned above, at the time when we visited the schools the unified structure had been established only up to the second grade. The third grade has entered this new structure in the school year of 1993-1994. Since a large number of the teachers we interviewed taught only pupils of the third grade, they had as yet no personal experience with the new structure. That might explain why most of the teachers declared that they had not experienced any real difference between the new and the old structures. Although in general the establishment of the unified structure was intended to increase the quality of education in comparison with Type I, several objections were raised.

A first category of reactions referred to rather practical consequences of the unified structure, e.g., the decline of the hours spent on certain subjects leading to a re-deployment problem for certain members of the staff, and caused increased administration.

In the unified structure the choice of pupils for a specific track is postponed until the second grade. Great weight is attached to basic education. The major part of that basic education is common for all pupils of the same year. This is the collective part. A smaller proportion of the lessons is optional depending on the preference of the pupils and what the school offers (see chapter 1). Whereas the

idea of postponing choice is considered positive in theory, in practice several disadvantages could not be denied according to some interviewees.

Most respondents considered the collective part of the curriculum of the first grade to be the most important characteristic of the unified structure. However the head of school F, an ASO-TSO-BSO-school, remarked that in practice the idea of a collective year was not realized. Schools endeavoured to differentiate this collective part in daily classroom practice. They believed that the application of this collective part as intended by the law, has led to a decrease in standards.

(...) F01: I am not that enthusiastic about the idea of a common part in the first grade. It is called a common year but in practice it doesn't work. Twenty-seven hours of the weekly periods should be common for all pupils of the same school, but these hours are not given at the same time to all pupils. In practice the groups are being separated. E.g., the better pupils are offered five hours Latin in addition to the common part. In theory they also follow the same twenty-seven hours as the others classes, but they move on more quickly than the other classes, and consequently the subject matter is more extensive. I think that only a few schools mix all pupils regardless of their abilities. Although this was the intention of the unified structure, I feel that if we mix all pupils and offer all of them the same common part, a number of pupils is going to develop ever greater arrears. (...)

Another comment with regard to the common part in the first grade was heard in a technical school (school K). Parents wanted to keep their children within general education for as long as possible. Some respondents suggested that some schools for general education had adapted to this situation by establishing new tracks for pupils who had dropped behind. Since the operating costs were distributed between the schools on the base of points per pupil, they tended to keep pupils in school for as long as possible. This not only hurt technical education, but also led



to a decrease of standards in general education.

(...) K02: The unified structure has hurt especially technical schools. In theory the first grade should offer the same education for all pupils. For instance there is no difference between technical or general education in the first grade. Consequently a large part of the parents wants their children to attend general education. After this first grade a lot of pupils remains in this general education. Schools offering general education adapt to this situation and establish new tracks for pupils dropping behind. A large part of the parents tries to keep their children within general education, even in these weak tracks at the expense of technical schools. That's an important disadvantage of the unified structure in my opinion. Not only for technical schools but also for schools that provide general education because this influences the standards of education in these schools in a negative way. (...)

(...) F01: Nowadays parents feel that their children can try every form of education they want. They say it's a common year so they can try for instance a year with the option of five hours of Latin. If it is not working out they can always change in the second year. As a consequence many of them choose a level of education that is too difficult for their children. And it is not easy for a school to refuse. If we do they simply change schools. So as a result we register these pupils. Of course when it's really obvious that a pupil will not be able to meet the standards, we don't. Parents often forget that this could have negative consequences for their children in the long run. When a child has sat by doing nothing a whole year, this could influence his behaviour and results for the rest of his school career. (...)

The heads in Beuselinck's study also emphasized that in practice pupils already made a definitive choice in the first year. Pupils (or parents) did not choose

a school bearing in mind that they might make another choice after the first year. Schools were chosen in function of upper secondary school or because the school was located in the neighbourhood. In our investigation this finding was stressed only in school D. The head of school D, a middle school located on the same campus as a technical Community school, complained that almost all pupils registering in the school already intended to attend technical or vocational education after the first grade. Whereas the head and the teachers of school D stressed the quality of their education, they had difficulties in attracting pupils wanting to continue general education.

A second characteristic of the unified structure commented by the interviewees was the change from a 2x3 structure towards a 3x2-structure<sup>25</sup>. We met positive as well as negative reactions. A negative reaction concerned the orientation of pupils in the third grade. In the old Type I-structure this orientation was made in the fourth year whereas the unified structure leaves room for reorientation in the fifth year. This was too late in the opinion of the teacher of mathematics of school I. Consequently the programme for the last two years was too loaded. Positive reactions concerned the old division (in type II) between the higher and lower cycle. The disappearance of this strict division has considered as being an improvement.

Another criticism concerned the timing and the practical elaboration of these changes. Teachers especially were confronted with changing curricula as a consequence of the unified structure. Although the content of these curricula as such was not criticized, the timing was. An important shortcoming was that the curricula for the fifth and sixth year were not available at the time when we visited the schools although the unified structure was to be organized in the third grade in school year 1993-1994 starting with the fifth year. Moreover schools expected to

<sup>25</sup> 2x3 means two grades, each having three years. 3x2 means three grades, each having two years.

receive new curricula again once the attainment targets were determined. All these changes succeeded each other continuously, and were felt as a heavy burden for teachers and as a waste of time. This had its consequences on the daily classroom practice.

(...) J03: First the school didn't buy any new textbooks because they were going to change with the unified structure. Now the reason for not buying new books are the attainment targets. When these attainment targets are established we shall finally be able to buy new books. For that reason we had to work with obsolete textbooks. Consequently I elaborated my own course, which is a collection of several books. (...)

(...) L02: Especially recent years with the unified structure curricula are continuously changing, textbooks are changing and so on ... All these innovations entail a lot of extra work. (...)

With regard to these curricula we have to emphasize two characteristics of the unified structure mentioned by Beuselinck. The learning process should not be restricted to merely cognitive aspects, but schools should also fulfil other functions. Schools can not segregate themselves from the surrounding reality. Moreover the 'hidden curriculum' should transmit certain values and behaviour to pupils. Parallel with the study of Beuselinck, we noticed that schools attached great importance to these characteristics (see chapter 5). However we have to emphasize that these elements were not so much considered as characteristics of the unified structure. Schools did not link these characteristics to the establishment of the unified structure but regarded them as tasks of each school whatever its structure.

The unified structure provides mixed curricula<sup>26</sup> from the second grade.

<sup>26</sup> A mixed curriculum is a curriculum composed of more than one major subject, e.g. Latin and modern languages, Latin and mathematics, modern languages and economics.

The attitude towards these mixed curricula differed from school to school and from track to track<sup>27</sup>. Some combinations already existed in the past, e.g., the combination Latin-modern languages. Pupils of Latin tracks already took modern languages, although to a lesser extent than their colleagues of modern languages. Other schools felt pupils were forced to attend courses which did not interest them at all. Some argued that some combinations involved a lack of logic. E.g. the head of school A felt that tracks should provide a clearer profile, e.g. the combination mathematics-modern languages was considered not to be logical; either pupils chose modern languages but were not interested in mathematics, or pupils chose mathematics and then modern languages should be restricted to the necessary hours.

In Beuselinck's study several other characteristics of the unified structure were discussed.

Beuselinck emphasizes that in the four schools the heads were convinced that first year A offered a better chance to the pupils than first year B. Consequently pupils should be sent to first year A if possible. With regard to the meaning of these years as a possible transfer from first year A to first year B opinions differed. In some schools first year B was seen as a year of preparation for vocational education, while in other schools first year B was considered to be a year where children could catch up for a disadvantage in learning. Schools were not enthusiastic about a possible transfer from first year B to first year A. Whereas this possibility existed in theory, in practice only a small number of pupils were able to make this transfer.

Another questioned aspect of the unified structure concerned mixed-ability classes. To promote social integration, several types of pupils were to be mixed

<sup>27</sup> These findings correspond with those in the study of Beuselinck. Dependent on the type of education, schools were rather positive or negative towards these mixed curricula. Schools providing general education felt these mixed curricula already existed in the past whereas technical schools felt that pupils were loaded with subjects they did not choose and do not need.

in the classes. Schools in Beuselinck's study interpreted these heterogeneous groups as being different with regard to their mental capacities. Whereas schools consider that this heterogeneity should be relativized, schools always attracted certain types of pupils and could not be regarded as completely heterogeneous. In general these schools believed that there were some advantages in working with heterogeneous groups both for the weak as well as for the better pupils. One of these schools, however, pleaded for moderate mixed-ability classes. In strictly mixed-ability classes the best pupils were wasting their time and the weaker pupils were not able to follow. For that reason this school pleaded for more homogeneous classes in which the mental distance between pupils was not too great.

The unified structure requires that more than merely cognitive elements should be taken into account in the evaluation of pupils. In general the heads in this study wanted the evaluation of pupils to be based in the first place on achievement. However during the appraisal of pupils also other elements are taken into consideration, e.g. divorce of the pupils' parents, illness of the pupil, accidents, social circumstances, adolescence, circle of friends, and so on. Beuselinck concluded that this differed from track to track. She noticed that these elements were taken into account in general rather than in vocational education. The evaluation of pupils will be treated separately under 6.3 in this chapter.

## 6.2. Curricula and attainment targets

Recently a change has taken place regarding curricula. In the past each organizing authority could autonomously determine its teaching methods and its curriculum. These curricula had to be submitted to the Minister of Education for approval, as determined by the School Pact Act of 1959. It should be recalled that before education was federalized the Minister was the organizing power of the Community school. In practice, free schools relied on the curricula developed by the curricula committees of the umbrella organization (NSKO).

For the Community schools, the situation changed with the establishment of the ARGO. The Flemish Minister of Education was no longer the organizing authority. Community schools function independently from the Community Minister, which is why drafting curricula had to be reformed. This was achieved by promulgation of the July 17th, 1991 Act and its execution order.

This act starts from a number of premises, one of which clearly points to curricula. It is the task of the E.D.S. (Education Development Service) to ensure that the minimal expectations of the Community regarding education are clearly known. Laying down these expectations is necessary in order to provide guarantees in the field of educational quality to all pupils attending courses, and to give legal security to those who provide education.

The '**minimum curriculum**' concept takes a central position in the law concerning the responsibility of the authorities for the contents of education. Up to now, the minimum curriculum referred to the minimum that had to be guaranteed by means of the recognized Community education curricula. The approval of curricula was dependent on whether they were in accordance with the curricula valid in Community education. The foundation of ARGO and a more dynamic view on education led to a new reference concept, that of '**attainment targets**'.

Attainment targets refer not only to curricula in which subjects occupy the central position, but to a whole set of final aims that may be expected to be realized, adapted to a particular level of education. "Knowledge, insight, skills, learning methods and attitudes are the elements involved here. These elements are considered to be achievable for the majority of pupils under normal circumstances."

Curricula will have to be worked out on the basis of these attainment targets by the organizing authorities themselves, taking into account their respective educational project (MVO, 1992: 27-28).

Heads and teachers were asked whether the **curricula** were felt to be a limitation of their local educational autonomy and if so, whether local autonomy should be increased.

The curricula of the Catholic network are developed by the NSKO. Whereas all organizing authorities in theory have the right to develop their own curriculum none of the schools in our sample exercised this authority.

(...) F01: The NSKO develops the curricula. We don't have to follow these curricula, but we do because we feel they satisfy. The NSKO studied several curricula, developed new ones and submitted them to the Minister of Education. These curricula are approved. But if we want to we can develop our own curricula. But it would be an enormous work. (...)

All schools, Community schools as well as Catholic schools, felt the need of these curricula, to justify the use of which several reasons were advanced.

Heads agreed that whereas the better teacher would also provide a high level of education without these curricula, the less good teachers needed these guiding principles. The most important reason however was that there were pupils wanting to change to another school. By synchronizing the educational levels of all schools, these curricula make it easier for pupils to change schools.

Although all respondents agreed that curricula restricted the educational freedom of teachers and schools, these restrictions were not seen as being a disadvantage. Teachers believed that these curricula still permitted them to emphasize their own fields of knowledge.

(...) H02: We receive our curricula from the NSKO and we have to follow them. But we are free to present this content as we wish. Every teacher can

emphasize these things he considers important. (...)

Although the necessity for curricula were acknowledged by all respondents, not all curricula were felt to be strictly binding. The curricula for mathematics in particular were felt to be rather closed and strictly binding. We noticed indeed that not all curricula were elaborated in the same way. Curricula might prescribe the goals to be achieved by educational contents, methodological instructions sometimes after covering the educational equipment, the methods of evaluation of pupils and so on. Between curricula which leave a great deal of freedom to the teachers and curricula which determine what, how and when a teacher has to teach, a whole range of curricula circulates. Although not all curricula differ for every track, e.g. curricula for religion can be used in several tracks, the following figures illustrate the large number of curricula to be developed. On the 1st of September 1993 pupils of the first year of the third grade of Catholic schools could choose among 126 different tracks.<sup>28</sup>

Some respondents discovered a change in curricula over the last five years. They asserted that curricula now provided more educational freedom to the teachers than in the past. Again, most teachers felt that the curricula were more adapted to pupils' everyday lives. They argued that this was a change that started earlier than five years ago. As already mentioned under 6.1. *The unified structure*, teachers asserted that most curricula should pay attention not only to mere cognitive aspects of the learning process, but also stress that certain values and certain behaviour should be taught at school.

The Educational Development Service is established to provide the Inspectorate with the instruments to do their job and to make proposals about **attainment targets** (see chapter 1). When schools were asked about their knowledge of the Educational Development Service, respondents referred only to

<sup>28</sup> NSKO - Bijlage M. 12 november 1993 - KI. 33.3

the task of the development of attainment targets. These targets for secondary education are not yet announced by the Flemish parliament. Consequently we could ask respondents only about their expectations regarding attainment targets.

Three reactions were met with regard to these attainment targets.

A first group of respondents was not familiar with the attainment targets: most teachers belonged to this group. Some of them had never heard the term.

A second group knew about the attainment targets but did not expect them to change anything in practice. They thought these targets could be interpreted as a kind of curriculum with a new name.

(...) H02: They are using new words to describe the same things. Schools have to reach certain minimum goals. They are developing the final terms for primary education now and one or five years from now they will establish our attainment targets. But a school always has to reach a certain standard I think. In certain schools these goals are higher than in others but every school always has to reach a certain minimum I think. I don't think these attainment targets will really change anything in practice. (...)

Besides these heads and teachers feared that attainment targets would be too theoretical for use in classroom practice and would be useful only as an instrument in the hands of the new inspectorate.

(...) F01: I know they are working on the attainment targets ... But we will have to wait for the results. I hope that the people who are working on these final terms are in touch with the school practice. I am afraid they aren't.

I: In what way?

F01: I am afraid that they are not informed about the things really

influencing school life. Those attainment targets may not become too theoretical. I hope it will not be used as an instrument to control or to deter teachers, but that it will be a useful instrument for the teachers. But I am afraid that this will not be the case. I am afraid that these attainment targets will be used more by the inspectorate than by the teachers. (...)

The heads who expected the attainment targets to change something hoped especially that the establishment of these terms would level the differences in quality between schools.

(...) B01: I think that when they establish these attainment targets the differences between weak and strong schools will disappear. When those attainment targets are established everybody will know what he is supposed to do. Teachers will know what pupils are supposed to know at the end of the school year for a certain discipline. (...)

Figure 6.14.: Expectations of heads towards attainment targets

Attainment targets will be:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
only positive in theory	X		X			X	X	X				X
positive in practice		X		X	X				X	X	X	

Figure 6.15. Expectations of teachers towards attainment targets

[illegible]



## 6.3. Evaluation

In Community schools, the decision-making principles with regard to the evaluation of pupils is centralized and is communicated through circular letters. For Catholic schools local autonomy is greater, although the NSKO also provides general principles for schools. There were no complaints in Community schools, nor in most Catholic schools about the lack of local autonomy in this respect. Schools felt rather free with regard to the evaluation of pupils. This freedom was not always felt as an advantage. The freedom of evaluation could widen the differences of standards among schools.

(...) K01: Our class council has the autonomy to decide whether pupils have to repeat a year or can go on to the next year. Consequently there are sometimes enormous differences among schools. It is possible that in our school pupils have to repeat their year whereas a few kilometers further pupils with the same capacities and the same achievement may go on to the next year. (...)

At school L, however, a complaint was made by the teachers. Apparently, the evaluation of pupils was very much controlled by the head of that school. E.g. all teachers had to submit examination questions to the head and wait for her approval. By several teachers this was considered as an attack on their educational authority. The head responded to this criticism as follows:

(...) L01: It is very important that examinations are being adjusted to the standards. I feel that examinations should be different for vocational, technical and general education. Pupils should be able to answer the questions on these exams. To ensure this every teacher has to hand in the exams in advance. I will give you an example. A few years ago one of the teachers of practical lessons asked pupils to tell how large a croquette should

be. I told her that pupils don't have to be able to write what the size of a croquette is, but that they should be able to make one. (...)

Interviewees were also asked whether new pupils were evaluated at the beginning of the school year. Apart from the P.M.S.-tests<sup>29</sup> that were taken in the beginning of the school year, none of the schools systematically tested the level of education of new pupils. Sometimes teachers tested new pupils to discover what level of education they had reached. However this was done at the individual discretion of the teacher and had no further consequences. Marks on these tests were not taken into consideration for school reports.

## 6.4. Feed-back to pupils and parents

The evaluation of pupils is communicated through the school reports. The number of school reports pupils receive every year differed from school to school and depended on the grade of education and the track. Dependent on these variables, pupils might receive five to nine school reports a year. Two to three of these reports were the results of examinations and the others were based on daily work of the pupils.

With regard to the attitudes of pupils views differed. In some schools they sought to avoid taking the attitudes of pupils into account. In other schools these attitudes were considered as important aspects of evaluation.

A first group of schools had no system of marking to reveal the attitudes of their pupils. They feel the assessment of these attitudes was too subjective and figures on the school report should be based solely on their achievements. In some of these schools the attitude of pupils might be communicated through a note on the school report. (schools A, E, F, H, and I)

<sup>29</sup> PMS: the psycho-medical-social centre.



(...) F01: I feel the attitudes of pupils should not influence their achievement. If not, evaluation would become too subjective. It is too difficult to translate these attitudes into achievement. There is a special place for notes on our school reports where attitudes can be commented upon. But the achievements of pupils and their behaviour are two separate things and they should be kept apart in our evaluation of pupils. (...)

Although these schools maintained that pupils' achievements and attitudes should be kept apart, the respondents in these schools were not sure all teachers practised this opinion. Certain teachers round off marks upwards or downwards depending on the pupil's behaviour in the classroom.

A second group had a special figure on the school report especially to evaluate the attitudes of pupils (schools B, C, D, J, and K). These schools regarded the educational attitude of their pupils as important but as something that should also be kept apart from their results for particular subjects. To keep these things apart, pupils received a mark for their attitudes on their school report separate from the other marks.

A last group of schools had a school report especially for the evaluation of attitudes (schools G and L).

(...) G01: Attitudes may not influence the marks. Sometimes it still happens that a teacher wants to give a pupil a 20 on 30 instead of 25 on 30 because of his behaviour. Then I have to forbid it. To evaluate a pupil's behaviour we have a special school report for attitudes. (...)

At school L, the report evaluating pupils behaviour was not already used in every class of the school. It was the first year in which they were working with such a school report and only a few classes in vocational education were involved

in this experiment. At the end of the school year the importance of this report was to be evaluated and eventually extended to all classes.

Figure 6.16. Evaluation of attitudes

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
no separate marks for attitudes	X				X	X		X	X			
separate marks for attitudes		X	X	X						X	X	
special school report for attitudes							X					X

All respondents mention that the attitudes of pupils were taken into consideration during the class council undertaking appraisals of pupils at the end of the school year. In these cases attitudes might influence the decisions of the deliberating class council.

Schools might present the achievement of the pupils in school reports by using either figures or characters. Although a few, especially Community schools, had experimented with school reports<sup>30</sup> in the past, all the schools we visited presented the results of their pupils by using figures. Most respondents legitimated this type of school report by referring to the parents. Parents asked the schools for a simple school report, easy to interpret. Experience had taught that parents feel that figures are much easier to interpret than characters.

All respondents agreed that, apart from the school report, it was important to give to pupils and parents a further kind of feed-back of achievement. In most schools, pupils received their marks of tests and homework. For several subjects these marks were to be noted in their school diaries and signed by their parents. Consequently the marks in the school reports were in most cases no real surprise

<sup>30</sup> E.g. instead of reporting the achievement of pupils in figures, it was reported in words to the parents.

to pupils and parents.

Moreover, most respondents regarded it as very important that tests and examinations should be corrected in the classroom. Pupils could learn from their mistakes.

(...) C01: We ensure that the examinations end a week before the Christmas holidays. We feel that examinations as such are not so important. A pupil doesn't learn anything from an exam. However he learns a lot from the discussion of such an exam afterwards. For that reason we ask teachers to discuss the examinations with their pupils. (...) After the holidays we have a parents' evening where parents together with their children can discuss the exams with the teachers. (...)

Several respondents mentioned that schools had to be able to justify the evaluation of pupils more than in the past. This was noticed with regard to the parents. E.g. parents 'have to see it coming' when pupils had to repeat a year. For that reason all marks had to be written in the school diary of the pupil and had to be signed by the parents.

It is a common principle that decisions of class councils regarding the evaluation of pupils are registered very conscientiously. Indeed, schools have to be able to justify every decision they take. Although these measures took a lot of extra work and effort, they were not seen as a disadvantage. These ideas are summarized in the following quotation.

(...) C01: We have to be able to justify everything these days. We can't say to a pupil and his parents that he has to repeat a year without comment. They have to receive some indications in advance. Consequently the school reports have to contain some warnings. (...) It's the same for the deliberating

class councils. All decisions taken by these class councils and all information that leads to these decisions have to be noted. We always have to be able to justify these decisions. (...) However all these obligations affect the effectiveness in a positive way. They lead to clearness and continuity in our decisions. These things prevent the situation that in one class someone with four failures has to repeat a year and in another class a pupil with four failures resits. (...)

### 6.5. Re-examinations

Recently legislation on re-examination has changed. Whereas in the past re-examinations were practised in almost every school of our sample, the system of re-examination should be restricted in the unified structure.<sup>31</sup> Not later than 30th June of the school year, in the unified structure, the deliberating class council has to decide whether a pupil has completed the school year successfully. The indication 'second time of session' and the date '15 September' can no longer appear on pupils' certificates. Only for special occasions (e.g. illness, family problems, etc.) may the time for decision be delayed until the first school day of the following school year.<sup>32</sup>

Only three respondents were happy with the new legislation with regard to resits. The heads of schools I, K, and L considered this as an improvement. These heads argued that pupils should be motivated to study during the whole school year. Pupils had the right to have a holiday. The system of re-examinations prevented certain pupils from doing so. However these heads agreed that all participants in school life should be given time to adjust to this new system.

<sup>31</sup> Only school D mentions that they do not permit re-examinations in the school.

<sup>32</sup> *Forum*, nr. 11, 1-15 juni 1991, p. 9.

(...) K01: I agree that ten months should be enough to evaluate pupils. I see no reason why we should prolong this process. It's noxious for pupils. It spoils their holiday, gives extra problems for their parents and so on. (...) But I feel they should give us the time to phase out this system. Parents and pupils should be given time to adjust to this new system. But in general I am in favour of this new system. (...)

All other respondents were less happy with the new legislation. Several reasons were offered in justification of their opinion.

A first group of respondents were convinced that pupils deserved a second chance. The following teacher expressed this opinion clearly:

(...) A02: I consider a re-examination as a second chance and in my opinion pupils deserve this second chance. Of course in general only less good pupils have to resit and maybe that kind of pupils will work less than others would. But they will have to bear the consequences themselves. However we have to give them this chance, they should decide for themselves what to do. (...) In higher education students also have two chances. We mustn't forget that a pupil can fail because of several reasons. Not only illness or certain events in their family can prevent pupils from studying but also their own attitude. We mustn't forget we are dealing with adolescents. They may have a period during the school year in which they are not co-operating and don't feel up to it, but that can change as quickly as it came. I feel they deserve a second chance. Pupils have enough time in July and August to exert themselves for a few subjects. (...)

A second reaction took into account the effect of this measure on the level of education. Were these re-examinations to be abolished, teachers would more easily decide to send pupils to lower levels of education than they did now. Pupils

who were able to follow a certain track, but for several reasons had messed things up during the school year would more easily end up in a less appreciated track.

(...) F02: I feel the system will become very unfair. Pupils who have abilities, but for several reasons have spoiled their chances, will not have a second chance anymore. They will have to repeat a year or will be sent to technical or vocational education. I am afraid that if re-examinations are abolished we will more easily send pupils to other tracks. We already had several cases of boys who are very bright but have several re-examinations and they also succeed at last. I ask myself what is going to happen to those people when re-examinations are abolished. (...)

The head of school F contended that by this measure the educational elite has disregarded the opinion of the educational base, in this case the schools. Schools felt constrained in their educational policy. They believed that they were perfectly capable of deciding in which cases re-examinations were appropriate and in which they should be avoided. The limitation of re-examination to special cases was sometimes seen as an attack on the local autonomy of schools in their educational policy. These ideas are expressed in the following quotations.

(...) F01: At the top they say that re-examinations have to be abolished and as a consequence every school has to abolish them. It is not taken into consideration that almost all schools want to maintain these re-examinations. I feel a school is perfectly able to decide for itself whether re-examinations are appropriate or not. (...)

(...) I02: The educational top wants to abolish the re-examinations. However I was in favour of the system of re-examinations. Especially because in our schools the decision to give a pupil some re-examinations was not taken that easily. When we agreed that it had no use to give some re-examinations,

we would not do so. Only in these cases where we felt it would be useful we did so. E.g., for pupils who had the capacity to go on to the next year but had neglected their studies during the school year. (...)

Other respondents emphasized that the measure to restrict the application of re-examinations to special cases, would change things only on paper. Schools would have to take the decision on the 30th June but pupils who did not satisfy might be given some homework during the holidays. However, most schools believed that this could be interpreted as a hidden form of re-examination. Most of them were planning to use these holiday tasks as a substitute for re-examinations.

Figure 6.17.: View of heads towards the new legislation on re-examinations

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
positive									X		X	X
negative						X		X		X		
neutral				X								
will be bypassed in practice	X	X	X		X		X					

Figure 6.18. View of teachers towards the new legislation on re-examinations

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
positive											X	
negative	X		X			X	X	X	X	X		X
neutral				X								
will be bypassed in practice		X			X							

## Chapter 7. The results of school policy

Finally the question concerning the results of school policy must be considered. We confine the analysis to two aspects of these results, viz. 1) What is the outcome of the education of the pupils; and 2) What do educational resources contribute to the improvement of educational effectiveness. To answer these questions we could only rely on the assessments given by the interviewees. Since our methods were case studies and in-depth interviewing we were not able by direct observation to measure the improvement of educational effectiveness under the influence of e.g. a new participatory structure, the unified structure, the change of the curricula, etc.. Moreover, not all schools provided the necessary information to give a clear picture of the school careers of their graduates after leaving school. Although schools were interested in this information they often lacked a system for collecting all these data. Consequently, the assessment of the results of school policy as given in the following pages is that of the interviewees. For a multi-level approach of the relationship between school policy and effectiveness of schooling we refer to § 4 of chapter 2, where the results of a former project are summarized (Verhoeven e.a., 1992).

### § 1. The outcome of education

In this paragraph we describe the outcome of education for every school. The results of education have a rather wide content. Here, special attention is paid to the level of education and the rates for those, going on to higher education. Respondents appeared to consider these items as the most important aspects of the consequences of education. It has to be stressed that, in their comments, the interviewees spoke of levels or standards of education in two different senses. On the one hand by level of education was meant the attained level of education (what did pupils know?), and, on the other hand, the standard to be attained (what should pupils know?). We have to emphasize that no objective measures were used to question either level of

education. When respondents suggested that at their school the level of education was rather high, they did not provide a sharp description of the level of education which would have been necessary to make an undoubtedly reliable comparison among schools. E.g. two schools, each of which claimed a rather high level of education, might be very different on the basis of an objectively measured level of education. However, respondents' answers gave an idea of the way in which heads and teachers looked at educational results.

All schools kept records of all their pupils. These records might contain information on pupils' educational careers, e.g. results, reports of class councils, aspects of pupils' profiles (e.g. their social background), problems occurring during pupils' school careers, etc. Most schools claimed to restrict these reports to matters connected with pupils' educational careers. Information on violence, vandalism, and so on were not noted. Whereas heads were often informed about the delinquent behaviour of their pupils outside the school, they were not keen to include these things in pupils' reports.

(...) F01: We don't note information on delinquent behaviour of our pupils. Most of the time I am informed about such behaviour, but we don't write it down in pupils' records, unless it is really essential for the school, but normally we don't. I feel that this is too dangerous when pupils change schools. I feel we have no right to pass this kind of information. This is too confidential. (...)

Whereas most of the time success rates of university education were available, schools were not always informed of success rates in other forms of higher education. Nor were figures on the working situation of pupils usually complete. Although all schools had a broader view of the destination of their pupils on leaving, none of the schools we visited could provide exact statistics.

In most of the schools we visited, the views of teachers, parents, and the head corresponded with regard to the level of education and higher education. If, however, some relevant differences were met we report them.

School A provided general education for pupils of the second and the third grade. Of all pupils in the school, 29.9% had to follow full-time compulsory education and 60.9% part-time. About 17% of the pupils of the school had had to repeat a year because of weak achievements in 1991/1992. All respondents agreed that the number of pupils attending further education was rather large and that the success rate of their pupils in higher education was impressive (about 60% succeeded at the university). The level of education at school A was considered to be very high. All respondents emphasized that the first aim of the school was to prepare pupils for higher education. Not all respondents saw this as an advantage.

(...) A04: The schools motto is 'strive for quality'. If you ask my opinion ... this has advantages as well as disadvantages. The head is proud to say that several of his pupils succeed very easily in higher education and that the success rate is rather high. Well I think that's normal because the level of education of this school is very high. But this can also have negative consequences. My son for instance left school last year and he has all capacities to attend higher education but he doesn't want to. He is tired of studying. They stress further education too much. Of course, as a school for general education they are pointed to the transfer of pupils to higher education but the level of education is very high. Pupils are over-loaded and are sometimes already tired of studying before they start higher education. (...)

With regard to changes in the level of education, the views of the respondents did not correspond. Whereas the parent felt that the level of education was too high and that pupils not able to reach this level were automatically excluded, the teacher



of this school felt that the level of education was declining, although it was still rather high in comparison with other schools. Since the operating resources were provided on the basis of points per pupil, schools had to do everything to keep their pupils. Consequently, schools did not oblige pupils to repeat a year, although on the basis of their achievement they should have done so, and this procedure resulted in a declining level of education. The teacher of this school felt that, as a result of this change, educational standards ought to be adjusted.

(...) A02: I feel teachers have become more careful. They will not as quickly give an inadequate mark. But also in the settling of results for instance after re-examinations, there is a tendency to let pupils pass. If there is a chance a pupil will stay in the school we have to try and keep him here. This is justified by the view that all schools do the same thing. But of course in that way we arrive in a vicious circle. Our standards are lowered and as a consequence the level of education declines which forces us to lower our standards again. (...)

**School B** offered technical and vocational education to pupils of the second and third grade. According to the head about 25% of the pupils took further education, from whom 10 to 15% succeeded. However, most of these pupils attended technical education. Most pupils of vocational education did not attend further education and if they did, it was restricted to a 'seventh year' within the school<sup>1</sup>. The head and the teacher of this school also complained about the level of technical and especially vocational education. The process causing the decline of the level of technical and especially vocational education was described as the 'waterfall system'. A large number of pupils in technical and vocational schools had started in general

<sup>1</sup> Most technical and vocational schools offered pupils the possibility of attending a seventh year within vocational and technical education. Pupils of vocational education could obtain a certificate of secondary education after such a seventh year which permitted them to go on to higher education. In most schools this seventh year was promoted as a specialization within a certain track. E.g. school E offered pupils of 'wood-working' a seventh year 'to specialize in industrial wood-working'. Pupils of paint- and decoration technics could 'specialize in restoration-renovation painting'.

education, had fallen back to technical education and had finally attended vocational education. A number of these pupils had repeated several years and as a result some of them were 19, 20 or even 21 years old. Their motivation to attend school was very low and the teachers found them very difficult to handle. This trend lowered the level of technical and vocational education since teachers were forced to adjust their educational standards<sup>2</sup>.

(...) B01: A large number of pupils who are wrongly orientated and were attending general education now still come to our technical education in the third grade. As a consequence they are disadvantaged in learning. Sometimes they have to switch to vocational education more because of lack of motivation than because of lack of knowledge. The result is a number of non-motivated pupils of 19, 20 or even 21 years of age who lower the level of education. To give you an idea, our parking-place is filled with pupils' cars. (...)

**School C** organized general education for pupils of the second and third grade. Of all pupils in the school, 26.6% had to follow full-time compulsory education and 66.6% part-time. About 11% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992, whereas in 1987 this figure was 10%. Of the first year pupils, 3% needed special educational help. According to the head, about 65% of his pupils went into higher education after secondary school, of which 30% went to university and 35% attended other forms of higher education. The teacher of this school stated that whereas more pupils attended higher education than in the past, the number of failures also increased. The explanation for this was that most pupils tried university

<sup>2</sup> The parents in particular, were considered to be the cause of this 'waterfall system'. Most parents wanted to keep their children in general education for as long as possible. Pupils who did not have the necessary capacity to attend general education caused the level of general education to decline. Only after several failures were parents prepared to transfer their children to technical education where the same process took place. When these children finally arrived in vocational education they often completely hated school and had often passed the age of compulsory education. This process lowered the level of education within all tracks, but was felt more within vocational education.



education, whether they were competent or not.

(...) C02: An increased number of pupils try to attend university education. A lot of pupils who in the past would not have even considered attending university education are trying now. We already know in advance that these pupils are going to fail but they want to try anyway. And as a consequence the failures in university education increase, but they are predictable. Those pupils should also have known they are not fit for university education. (...)

The head of school C wanted to provide a high level of education. According to the head as well as to the teachers and the parent we interviewed, the school was known as a school of high standards. Whereas the school could not refuse pupils who passed the first grade even with weak results, the head felt there was an automatic pre-selection. Because of its fame as a school with high standards only pupils with high achievement at the end of the first grade registered in this school.

(...) C01: Although we don't prevent pupils (from registering) there are a few unwritten laws known in our town. People know that if they have weak results they musn't even try to come to our school because of our high level of education. We are known as a school providing quality, and as a result an automatic pre-selection takes place. (...)

The respondents believed that not only the attained level of education but also the standards to be attained were very high at this school. Rather than adjusting the educational standards to the level of the pupils, the school obliged pupils who could not attain these standards to leave.

(...) C01: Normally we have only a few pupils who come to us after they have failed in other schools. On the contrary, every year about 30 pupils leave our school because they can't achieve our level of education. (...)

Since **school D** was a middle school offering education only for pupils of the first grade, the interviewees had no idea about the higher education of their pupils. Although in theory this school prepared pupils for all types of education, at the end of the second year most pupils chose to attend the technical school at the same campus. This had certainly influenced the fact that this school was seen to prepare pupils for technical or vocational education. According to the head, the school did not attract the 'better pupils' because of the school's image of training pupils only for technical or vocational school. Consequently the level of education at this school was not considered to be as high as that of some other middle schools which attracted pupils who wanted to transfer to general education. Although the school, especially in those classes preparing pupils for general education, tried to achieve the same level of education as in these other schools, the head and the teacher thought that they had to adjust their educational standards to the level of their pupils.

The school also had a large number of immigrant children among its pupils. 64% of the 1st grade pupils were descendants of Turkish and Moroccan families. Most of these pupils attended vocational education after the first grade.

**School E** provided technical and vocational education for pupils of the first and the second grade. 60.6% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education and 37.8% part-time. About 8% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992/1993. And about 4% of the pupils of the first year needed special educational help. Whereas the third grade was officially regarded as a separate school, in practice the three grades were considered one school. As a consequence, pupils of school E remained within the school until the third grade. About 60% of the pupils of the technical track went into higher education after the third grade, mainly non-university higher education. Pupils of vocational education in general did not pursue further education but, if they did, they attended courses in a seventh year of vocational school. Only a few pupils in vocational education went on to higher education after succeeding in the seventh year. The success rate of these

pupils was however very high. Since they were very highly motivated, almost all of them succeeded.

At this school, all respondents were convinced that the school provided a high level of education, not only in technical education, but also in vocational education. They even felt that pupils of vocational education who followed the seventh year at their school reached the same level as pupils of technical education in some other schools. Whereas in other schools several respondents complained about the motivation and behaviour of pupils in vocational education, respondents in this school were proud of their vocational pupils. They claimed that the trend, often mentioned in other schools, that most pupils attended vocational education only because they failed in other tracks and consequently were not motivated and were often difficult to handle, did not determine the atmosphere at their school. They considered that a lot of pupils choose vocational education not because they were unable to attend general or technical education, but because they wanted to learn a particular occupation. This is illustrated by the following quotations:

(...) E01: Some time ago some researchers came to our school. They thought we were fooling them. They thought our technical pupils were pretending to be vocational pupils. They told us our vocational pupils were very disciplined. And I must agree we have very good pupils in our school. (...) And again a few weeks ago we had a visit of the manager of Toyota in Brussels. He visited our school and wanted to have a conversation with a pupil of motor mechanics. We provide this track as well in technical as in vocational education. And this manager told me that the pupils of vocational education made a better impression than those of technical education. I tell this to illustrate that our vocational education is certainly not inferior. (...)

(...) E04: I feel pupils have to opt as soon as possible for a technical school. The trend that is felt in most schools, that pupils only choose technical or

vocational education after they failed in general education, damages technical schools. But parents are not eager to send their children immediately to technical or vocational schools. They always want to try general education first. But I have to say that in our school more and more pupils freely choose technical or vocational education. Several of these pupils are even able to attend general education but they want to learn an occupation. These pupils are very motivated and raise the level of education in a school. I feel we have a lot of these pupils in our school. (...)

The respondents at this school were convinced that they did not have to lower their standards of education since they had very highly motivated and good pupils. According to their opinion their pupils could bear comparison with pupils of other technical and vocational schools.

**School F** offered the three grades of the three tracks. 8% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992, and 1% of the first year pupils needed special educational help. The same trend as in the other schools was noticed. After general education almost all pupils pursued further education. This number decreased after technical education and was almost non-existent in vocational education. Pupils who completed vocational education who did not immediately look for a job, eventually attended a seventh year in the school. According to the respondents, the level of general and technical education was rather high. The representative of the parents also felt that the pupils of school F could compete with those of other schools. The level of vocational education however was thought to be declining. Nevertheless, none of the respondents suggested that the standards to be attained by pupils had up to now been lowered. However the teachers thought that, especially in vocational education, these standards would have to be adjusted in the future if the school wanted to keep its pupils.

14% of the first year pupils were immigrant children. Most immigrant pupils still chose vocational education and did not go on to further education after the third grade.

**School G** provided general, technical and vocational education for pupils of the second and third grade. 19.2% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, and 65.6% part-time. 4% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992/1993. The same trend as in the other schools providing the three tracks was mentioned. However a teacher of this school stated that the level of education in the technical tracks was rather low in comparison with schools providing only technical education. An explanation for this might be the lack of educational resources in the school. As a small school with three types of education the resources were restricted in comparison with large and merely technical schools. In general education, however, the level of education was considered very high. The representative of the parents thought that the school was known as a rather disciplined school where pupils had to work very hard to succeed. According to the head the success rates of the school's former pupils in university and other higher education were very high. The fact that these rates were published in local magazines to advertise the school supported this statement.

The head and parents believed that not only was the level of education attained by the pupils very high at school G but so also were the standards.

(...) G04: I think the level of education is very high at this school. The school is known to be rather severe also with regard to the learning programme. It is not made easy for pupils to achieve good results. (...)

**School H** organized technical and vocational education for second and third grade. 9.1% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, 63.5% part-time, and 27.4 were free of any compulsory education. 18% of the pupils had had

to repeat a year in 1992/1993 because of unsatisfactory achievement. After technical tracks a large number of pupils pursued further education. As many as 75% of the pupils of certain strong tracks went on to further education, e.g. in 'industrial engineering'. After finishing school most pupils of vocational education searched for a job.

Most immigrant pupils attended vocational education and quit school after the third grade. The high level of education at the school was emphasized by most respondents. The level of education was also used as an argument for the relatively low number of immigrant pupils at the school. (Whereas the other technical and vocational schools in the neighbourhood had larger numbers of immigrant children among their pupils.) The head told us that most immigrant pupils left the school because of the high standards. This view was supported by the representative of the parents. The respondents got the impression that the standards to be attained were not adjusted to the level of education of pupils who came to the school. However, they added that certain schools adjusted the standards to be attained in order to keep as many pupils as possible in their school. The school was known as one of the better technical and vocational schools in the neighbourhood and pupils leaving the school enjoyed a good reputation in local companies.

**School I** offered only general education for pupils of the three grades. The proportion of pupils no longer obliged to have full-time compulsory education was very small, viz. 1.5%. 49% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, and 49.3% part-time. Only 0.8% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992/1993 and, according to the head, only 1% of the pupils of the first year needed special educational help. Our respondents stressed that 60 to 70% of their pupils went on to higher education and that most of them went to university. Nevertheless, according to the teachers, the success rates in university education had decreased during recent years. The reason for this was that many former pupils registered in the university even when they were not capable. According to the

teacher of mathematics the level of education had also declined over recent years. This was a result of competition among schools. All schools tried to retain as many pupils as possible. In order to attain this aim, schools avoided requiring that pupils who failed should repeat their year. Schools feared that if they did so, pupils would leave this school for another one. Consequently the standards to be attained by the pupils had to be lowered. The low percentage of pupils having to repeat their year might support this view.

(...) I03: In our school if a teacher makes a pupil repeat his year, we risk being rapped on our knuckles by the head. We have to be able to justify ourselves if for instance too many pupils have inadequate marks in the examinations. Of course, a teacher can draw up his examinations so that pupils will be pulled through the year. The principal does not like pupils to fail or to be expelled and he feels 'it's a teacher's task to make sure a pupil succeeds'. But I feel that's not fair to the pupils in the long run. We have to be able to tell a pupil if he's not capable for a certain track before it ends as a total disaster for the pupil. But all that is a result of the competition between schools. And maybe it's a normal consequence of the distribution of the operation costs between schools. Schools nowadays have to do everything to survive. (...)

At school J, pupils could attend general education in the first, second and third grade. 59.9% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education and 37.1% part-time. Whereas most former pupils went on to one or another form of higher education, only 10% attended universities. According to the head, only 5% of his graduates quitted school immediately after secondary education. One of the teachers called the success rates, especially at the university, rather low. However, this had nothing to do with the level of education at school J, but was a result of the trend for pupils to start university studies rather than going into other higher education even when they did not have the capacity to succeed in university

education. None of the respondents at this school thought that the standards to be attained by the pupils had to be adjusted to their level of education.

School K provided technical and vocational education for the three grades of secondary education. 45% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education and 55% part-time. About 6% of the pupils had had to repeat a year in 1992/1993, and 5% of the pupils of the first year needed special educational help. After the technical tracks, a large number of pupils went on to further education, mostly at the non-university level. In vocational education, most pupils did not pursue further education and if they did, they restricted it to a seventh year in the same school. With regard to the level of education no significant changes were noticed. Although the respondents at this school did not believe that the standards to be attained by the pupils were adjusted to the level of education of these pupils in order to keep them in the school, they noticed this trend in other schools. They believed that this was the cause of the large differences among schools with regard to the level of education attained by pupils.

(...) K01: There are enormous differences between schools with regard to the level of education. It is perfectly possible that in our school children have to repeat their year and that in a school a few kilometers away a pupil with the same capacities and the same results will have no problem in succeeding. (...)

At school L, finally, general, technical and vocational education was organized for the three grades. 42.5% of the pupils had to follow full-time compulsory education, and 36% part-time. The rate of pupils who had to repeat a year because of failures in 1992/1993 was very low, viz. 0.02%. Yet 5% of the 1st form pupils had needed special educational help. The same trend as in the other schools with the same characteristics was found. Most of those who completed general education went into further education, and those completing technical



education also registered in higher education, but less so in universities, whereas most of the time those finishing vocational education left school after the third grade and looked for a job.

Since most immigrant pupils in the school attended vocational education most of them did not continue with higher education. Although the respondents agreed that the school was known as a good school in the neighbourhood, the teachers felt that the level of education in this school was declining and would decline even more in the future, for which the trend already mentioned above was held responsible. Pupils remained as long as possible in general education even when they were not capable, and this reduced the standard in general education. Pupils went only to technical or vocational education when they had failed in general education. Consequently, pupils with learning problems and lacking good motivation entered technical and vocational education and caused a reduction of standards there. This decline was also caused by the adjustment of educational standards to be attained by pupils to the level of education of these 'products of the waterfall system'.

(...) L03: The level of education is decreasing and I feel this is a normal result of the 'waterfall system', also in general education. Pupils always want to start their education within general education. They feel that if they are not able to attend these tracks they can always go to technical and vocational education. Five to six pupils like that are found in almost all classes. We can't leave those pupils to their own devices to fend for themselves. Consequently we have to lower the level for all pupils. (...)

In the preceding pages effectiveness of schooling is roughly described in terms of how closely pupils met the standards, and of what proportion of graduates continued in schools of further education. The general pattern offered by these data

is a different picture in general, technical, and vocational education.<sup>3</sup>

Schools A, C, I, and J offered only general education. According to the respondents at these schools the number of pupils attending further education was very high. The heads of schools A and J stated that almost all school leavers entered higher education (at school J only 5% of pupils would quit education after the third grade). At school C, about 65% of pupils and at school I, 60 to 70% took further education. Apart from school A, which was very proud of the success rates of its former pupils in higher education (60% succeeded in university), all these schools reported a decline in success rates. However, the respondents thought that this decline was not attributable to a reduced level of education in these schools, but had to be explained by the trend for more and more former pupils to try university education without having the necessary capacity for it.

Schools B, E, H, and K provided technical and vocational education. In these schools, particularly pupils in technical education attended higher education after their secondary studies. Apart from a few very highly motivated students, most pupils in vocational education did not go on to higher education. At best, these pupils attended a seventh year in the school after the third grade. Whereas respondents at school B and K complained about the level of education at their schools as a result of the 'waterfall system', schools E and H claimed to maintain a very high level of education. Vocational education was not considered inferior to other tracks in these schools.

Schools F, G, and L organized general, technical and vocational education. The same trend as in the other schools was disclosed. After general education most pupils chose higher education. After technical education the number of students entering higher education was still considerable, although smaller than in general

<sup>3</sup>It has to be mentioned that the schools within these three groups do not correspond with regard to their view on the adjustment of the educational standards used to evaluate pupils. This characteristic seems not to be connected with the tracks which these schools offered.

education, and in vocational education most pupils looked for a job after secondary education. In these schools the 'waterfall system' also appeared to influence the level of education.

In general, we noticed that in most schools pupils completing general education went on to higher education. A large number of students of technical education took further education, dependent on the track they were in, and most pupils in vocational education quitted school after secondary education. If the latter continued further education, then this was usually restricted to a seventh year in the secondary school.

With regard to involvement in higher education two changes may be mentioned. First, the number of students entering higher education had increased, and second, within higher education the number of pupils opting for university education had increased. In some schools this resulted in a decreasing success rate within higher education, since not all students were qualified for university education. However, all the respondents regarded this as a development which had already begun more than five years before.

The difference between immigrant and Belgian pupils with regard to entry into higher education continued. Most immigrant pupils did not go on to higher education. Whether this was to be connected with their belonging to ethnic groups as such or with the track they chose is not clear. Indeed, immigrant pupils still predominantly attended vocational education. Most pupils in vocational education, whether they were immigrants or not, did not enter further education after secondary school.

## § 2. The effectiveness of educational resources

The last question of this chapter concerns the contribution to the quality of

education of the educational resources discussed in this study. Once more it has to be emphasized that we used no objective measures. The respondents were asked whether in their opinion these resources influenced the quality of education and if they did, whether they had positive or negative consequences for the effectiveness of schooling. Although the effectiveness of these resources was already implicitly discussed in chapter 5 and 6, in this chapter we concentrate explicitly on the link between educational resources and effectiveness. The analysis is confined to the study of the following resources: participation of teachers, parents, and pupils; relations with parents, pupils, and the local community; management of teachers; the inspectorate and pedagogic counselling; financial and equipment management; curriculum and evaluation; and arrangements for immigrant children, gender, and for working class children.

Since the conception of an effective school entertained by heads and teachers may also influence their view of the effectiveness of educational resources, we briefly repeat the aspects already elaborated in the three first paragraphs of chapter 5 (viz. § 1. *The concept of effectiveness*, § 2. *Philosophy of education* and § 3. *School mission*).

### 2.1. The concept of effectiveness

According to the head of **school A**, an effective school was a school providing education of high quality. Children should gather useful knowledge for later life, after they have left school. The most important task of a school was preparing pupils for higher education. The teachers at this school emphasized other characteristics. A school was effective when pupils liked to come to school and when they developed a sense of belonging. For that reason, a school had to provide not only knowledge necessary to succeed in higher education but had also to offer a broader education.



The head of **school B** considered an effective school to be a school teaching pupils a profession, and at the same time, offering a broader education. To reach these objectives group loyalty had to exist among teachers and head. The teacher of this school agreed with these goals, although he felt that the group loyalty was destroyed by the head who always took the side of the pupils when conflict between pupils and teachers occurred.

The head of **school C** defined an effective school as a school:

1. which had strong educational leadership and goal-directed management;
2. which accentuated the acquisition of basic skills;
3. which maintained a tidy and safe climate suitable for education;
4. which maintained high expectations for pupil achievement levels;
5. which undertook regular evaluation of the progress of the pupils.

The teacher emphasized that pupils should be supported as much as possible. To reach this aim all teachers had to be prepared to spend more time at school than was strictly necessary.

The head and the teacher of **school D** regarded as an effective school a school reaching its educational goals. Two goals were emphasized: pupils had to obtain the knowledge necessary to go on to further education; and a school had to engage in the broader education of pupils. Both were equally important.

At **school E**, the view was shared by the head and teachers that an effective school was a school where pupils liked to come to school.

The teacher as well as the head of **school F** had the impression that as a Catholic school, the school could not restrict itself to the mere transfer of knowledge. A school had to provide a broader education.

For the teacher and the head of **school G** a school had to take care of the complete education of pupils. An effective school was a school preparing its pupils for their lives as adults in our society. Consequently a school had to be a reflection of society and therefore had to accept all kinds of pupils.

The head as well as teachers at **school H** argued that a school had to offer a broad education to its pupils. Teaching and education had to go together.

The head of **school I** defined an effective school as a school dominated by an atmosphere of friendship, understanding and collaboration on all levels, whereas the teachers emphasized the educational goals. The main objective of the school was to prepare its pupils for higher education.

The head of **school J** recognized that in order to be effective, a school needed solid management which, taking into account the input of pupils, teachers and the available means tried to reach the maximum output. Education should also take place in a friendly environment. Teachers as well as pupils should regard the school as their second home. The main objective of the school was the transfer of knowledge but, as a Catholic school, a school should also provide a broader education. This view was shared by the teacher of school J.

For the head of **school K**, an effective school had to be up-to-date. The main objective of the school was the transfer of knowledge. But a school could not restrict itself to this. A school had to pay attention to the broader education of the children.

The task of a school, according to the head of **school L**, was always to give every child the maximum chances to develop his potential. For that reason, the school should provide a broader education. The teacher of school L considered an effective school to be a school that took the pupil's future into account. Besides, teachers should be able to work in the best circumstances which would enhance their

motivation and so contribute to the education of pupils.

## 2.2. The participation of teachers, parents and pupils

### 2.2.1. The participation of teachers

With regard to the participation of teachers some new important instruments have recently been established, viz. the local school council and the participation council, (viz. 3.1. *New participatory structures* in chapter 1, and 1.1. *Participation councils and local school councils* in chapter 6). First, we describe the attitudes of the heads and second that of the teachers.

In the Community schools A, B, C and D, **heads** were not opposed to the participation of teachers in the decision-making structure of the school. On the contrary, the presence of teachers in the local school council went without saying. Nevertheless, these heads saw no important impact of increased participation on the quality of education.

With regard to the view of heads on the influence of participation of teachers on the quality of education and the effectiveness of schooling, the Catholic schools in our sample can be divided into three groups.

In schools E, I and J, the heads felt that the participation of teachers was positive in influencing the effectiveness of schooling and, indirectly, the quality of education. Although the head of school E considered that participation councils were redundant, the participation of teachers as such was considered be a good thing (see page 156). The participation of teachers promoted the commitment of teachers to the school. Since the commitment of teachers enhanced the atmosphere of the school, the head believed that their participation had a positive influence on the quality of education and on effectiveness (cfr. his view on an effective school).

The head of school I argued that the participation of teachers might theoretically contribute to the realization of an effective school. However, in practice the participation council was redundant since teachers already participated through the staff council. The head of school J defended the opinion that the participation of teachers was very important to realize an effective school. Through participation in school policy, teachers would be motivated and would feel that their opinion counted in the school. This would motivate teachers to engage in school life and give the best of themselves and would finally lead to a more effective school (cfr. his view on an effective school).

A second reaction with regard to the link between the participation of teachers and the quality of education was met at school G. The head of school G considered the participation of teachers to be rather positive (see page 159). However, he thought that the influence on the effectiveness of schooling was not immediately visible. Although the head recognized that teachers became more engaged in the school through their increased participation, which of course contributed to a positive atmosphere at school, the immediate effect on the quality of education was not visible.

The heads of schools F, H, K and L had a different opinion. They thought that whatever the importance of teachers' participation, there was no real influence from their increased participation on the effectiveness of schooling. This attitude could be explained by their view on an effective school. Whereas the heads of schools J and E accentuated the atmosphere at school as being important in creating an effective school, the heads of schools F, H, K and L emphasized the broader education of pupils besides the mere transference of knowledge.

The views of **teachers** on this issue did not always correspond with those of the head of their school. We can distinguish three groups.

The teachers of schools A and E expressed the opinion that the participation of teachers in school councils influenced the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education in a positive way. As already mentioned on page 158, the teachers of school A felt that the participation of teachers in the local school council improved the atmosphere at school and stimulated the involvement of teachers. In that way it might improve the quality of education. This view did not correspond with the view of the head of school A. This difference in attitude towards the effect of the increased participation of teachers on the quality of education could among other things be explained by their views of what constituted an effective school. Whereas the head emphasized the quality of education, the teachers stressed the atmosphere at school; pupils had to like coming to the school and to develop a sense of belonging. In this respect the teacher of school E shared the view of his head. Moreover, it has to be emphasized that his view of an effective school also corresponded with the opinion of his head.

Teachers at schools B, C, D, F, H, I, J, K, and L were more sceptical. They thought that the participation of teachers had no effect on the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education. However this group may be divided with regard to their explanation of the lack of influence of participation on effectiveness. The teachers of schools B, F, H, K, and L maintained that the participation of teachers could increase the effectiveness of schooling and consequently the quality of education, but since teachers' participation in school policy was not increased by the establishment of the local school councils/participation councils, effectiveness was not influenced for the better. On the other hand, teachers of schools C, D, I and J did not see any direct link between participation of teachers and the quality of education.

The teacher of school G was disappointed about teachers' participation in the school. They were not taken seriously and the participation council in particular was considered to be a failure. Consequently the participation of teachers at school could

not contribute to the creation of an effective school. On the contrary, it would even prevent effectiveness since it caused the atmosphere at school to deteriorate.

### 2.2.2. The participation of parents

The establishment of local school councils and participation councils created the possibility for parents to participate in school policy (see 3.1. *New participatory structures* in chapter 1 and 1.1.4. *Participation of parents* in chapter 6).

Concerning the view of heads towards the influence of this increased participation of parents on the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education four groups could be distinguished.

The opinion of the **heads** of schools A, C, F, and L was rather outspoken. They thought that parental participation did not influence the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education for the better. The main reasons justifying this view were the incompetence of parents with regard to the educational system, and, on the one hand, the operation of the school policy and, on the other, their difficulties in taking a disinterested view of things.

At school C, the attitude not only of the parents but also the view of the head regarding an effective school might explain this view. Since parents were not competent and their participation in the local school council was a mere formality, the head could perceive no influence whatsoever on effectiveness as a consequence of the participation of parents. This might be explained by his view of an effective school, one aspect of which was strong leadership. This was illustrated by the following quotation.

(...) C01: I think in some schools there is a broader interaction and dialogue between school and parents. But I already told you, I am not that young

anymore and consequently I am not interested, I don't need that. I have enough experience as father and mother to know what I have to do and I have my own view on education that I try to use at school. (...)

School B had no parents' representative in the local school council. Parents had received an invitation to stand for the local school council but there had been no response. The head suggested that the reason for this lack of interest among parents concerning decision-making in the school was connected with the school's high proportion of lower class children. In his opinion, parents of these children were less interested in these matters. However, the head did not consider this to be a disadvantage for school policy. He shared the view of the former heads that parents had difficulties in acting out of common interest, and consequently would never be an important help in creating an effective school.

The heads of schools D, E, and J were convinced that the participation of parents could influence the effectiveness of schooling for the better. The head of school D felt that the presence of parents in the participation council was a positive contribution to the operation of the school. Parents could throw another light on school policy and indirectly influence the quality of education. At school E, participation in participation councils was thought to be unnecessary because parents' councils already fulfilled that role. However, parents' participation in general was considered to have had a positive effect on school life, and in that way had promoted both the pupils' well being at the school and the quality of education. At school J, the same attitude was met as was found regarding the participation of teachers. The participation of parents through the participation council promoted their involvement in the school as a whole and this might lead to a more effective school which indirectly might affect the quality of education in a positive way.

Finally, the heads of schools H and K admitted that participation of parents in the school policy was rather important, but they failed to see it having any

consequences for the effectiveness of schooling or the quality of education.

**Teachers** expressed three different reactions concerning their attitude towards the influence of the participation of parents on the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education.

The teachers of schools A, B, I, J, K, and L argued that parental participation was a good thing and that parents had the right to participate since education involved their children. But they did not see any immediate influence from it on the effectiveness of schooling.

The teachers of schools F, G, and H thought that in theory the participation of parents could contribute to the creation of an effective school, but in practice parents served only their own interests and more particularly those of their children. Consequently the participation of parents did not attain its ends and did not contribute to the effectiveness of schooling in a positive way.

Finally, the teachers of schools C, D, and E said that the participation of parents could contribute to the good operation of the school. Parents could throw another light on school policy and indirectly influence the quality of education (school D). The participation of parents in general had a positive effect on school life and promoted the pupils' well-being at school and in that way the quality of education (school E). Whereas the teachers of schools D and E shared this view with the heads of their schools, the view of teacher and head of school C differed. This could be linked to their view on an effective school. Whereas the head, among other things, accentuated strong leadership and goal-directed management and high expectations for pupil achievement levels, the teacher stressed the necessity for teachers to support the pupils as much as possible, and to realize the need for teachers to be committed to the life of the school.



## 2.2.3. The participation of pupils

The participation of pupils is described under 1.1.5. *Participation of pupils* in chapter 6. Although several respondents considered it to be really important that pupils should be engaged in school life, should like to come to school, and should develop a sense of belonging (cf. their view on an effective school: heads of schools E, I, and J and teachers of schools A, E and J), none of the respondents made the direct link between pupils' participation in school policy, the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education.

## 2.3. Relations with parents, pupils and local community

## 2.3.1. Relations with parents

Apart from contacts with a small group of the parents in local school councils and in parents' councils, schools had contacts with all parents through parents' evenings, information evenings, all kind of information brochures, announcements on school life, and so on (see 2.1. *Relations with parents* in chapter 6).

Almost all respondents in all the schools we visited attached great importance to relations with parents. In theory increased contacts with parents were considered to enhance the effectiveness of schooling. In practice, however, increased contacts with parents did not always lead to a more effective school. On the contrary, when parents interfered with the educational work of the head and the teachers this often harmed the quality of education. A large number of the respondents felt that the tendency of parents to interfere with a school's educational work might really lead to a declining level of education. Several respondents indicated that parents could exert pressure on the school since for their operating costs schools were dependent on the number of pupils they had (see page 186).

However, the views of heads and teachers of the significance of relations with parents for the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education should be differentiated. Four differences of reactions were encountered. Since the views of the head and the teacher did not always correspond in all schools, their opinions are reported separately.

The **heads** of schools A, B, and F were convinced that although contacts with parents had increased, these were predominantly negative contacts. As such, contacts with parents could only increase the effectiveness of schooling, but since contacts with parents were more and more reduced to interference on their side in the educational work of the school they rather hampered effectiveness.

The head of school F:

(...) F01: The increased interference of parents takes a lot of effort. I feel it has gone too far when we always have to send a registered letter. I think it's a pity that we always have to make sure they can't prosecute us. This has negative consequences for our education. (...)

Although the tendency for parents more and more to interfere with the educational work of the school, was also visible at school C, according to the head this had no negative consequences for the quality of education. On the contrary, this affected the quality of education only for the better. Since teachers had to be able to justify everything this led to more conscious and responsible behaviour on the part of the teachers. According to the head this could only improve the quality of education and, consequently, the effectiveness of schooling.

The heads of schools E, G, H, K, and L also recognized the increased interference of parents in the educational task of the school. Although these heads stressed that this did not influence the quality of education for the better, this trend

was not considered really to interfere with the educational work of the school. The head of school E agreed with the other heads of this group that contacts with parents in general concerned an increasing interference with the educational task of the school but emphasised that the relations at school with the parents that were involved in the parents' council were very positive and were considered to be a great help in the school. Without any doubt these contacts increased effectiveness.

The heads of schools D, I, and J were the only heads who did not mention increased negative contacts with the parents. The head of school D emphasized the positive effects of the increasing relations with parents, especially the contact with parents of immigrants which had been improving during the past year. These contacts improved the atmosphere at school and, in that way, had had a positive influence on effectiveness. At school I, the contacts with parents were also considered to be satisfying. Increased direct contact with parents could change the atmosphere at school for the better and in that way the quality of education. The head of school J thought that contacts with parents had become more personal. Whereas in the past the only direct contact among teachers and parents occurred at parents' evenings, now parents more easily contacted the teachers or the head to have a personal conversation. As in the other schools, this was considered to have had positive effects on the atmosphere of the school and had influenced the quality of education for the better.

The same four reactions were met with the teachers we interviewed. However these views did not always correspond with those of their heads. More teachers had the opinion that the influence of increased relations with parents had had negative consequences for the effectiveness and the quality of education.

The teachers of schools A, B, C, D, E, and F thought that, although direct contact with parents had increased during recent years, these contacts were more and more reduced to complaints and to interference on their part with the educational

activity of the school. This influenced negatively the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education.

E.g. the teacher of school E believed that some teachers were seriously hampered in their educational task.

(...) E02: Nowadays parents will rather blame the school and the teachers than their children when something goes wrong (...) For instance at our latest parents' evening one of the teachers was very upset because some of the parents blamed her for their children's failures. I know this teacher and she's someone who always gives of her best. And at such a parents' evening a lot of parents blames the teacher if their children have failed, because they feel the teacher is to blame. If their son or daughter has bad marks you are a bad teacher. (...)

The teachers of schools G, H, K, and L shared the opinion of their heads and mentioned the increased interference of parents in the educational work of the school. Like their heads they felt this did not influence the quality of education for the better, but equally did not exert a negative effect on the quality of education or on the effectiveness of schooling.

Finally, the teachers of schools I and J agreed with their heads that the increased contacts with parents proceeded in a predominantly positive and constructive way. These contacts were considered to change the atmosphere at school for the better and thus influenced the quality of education in a positive way.

### 2.3.2. Relations with pupils

With regard to the relations between pupils and teachers the same remarks were met in all schools. Certain teachers had a really good relationship with pupils,



whereas others liked to keep a distance between teachers and pupils, and attached great importance to the school hierarchy. In every school, both types seemed to exist together with a large number of teachers who fell between the two. This was not so much linked to the school as to the teachers' personality (see 2.2. *Relations with pupils* in chapter 6). With regard to the relations among pupils and heads four types of schools were met. Figure 6.7. in chapter 6 summarizes these types. Concerning the views of the **heads** on the influence of relations with pupils, on the effectiveness of schooling, and, on the quality of education, two groups could be distinguished.

Although the heads of schools A, G, H, K, and L said that relations with pupils were very important, they saw no immediate influence stemming from the quality of relations with pupils on the quality of education. It was remarkable that at schools H, K and L contacts among heads and pupils relied on go-betweens. This could be a consequence of the heads' view of the influence of these contacts on the quality of education, or vice versa.

The heads of schools B, C, D, E, F, I, and J believed that there was a direct influence between the way relations with pupils proceeded and the effectiveness of schooling and the quality of education.

The head of school B claimed to be very open and understanding towards pupils. Pupils could turn to the head at every hour of the day and frequently did so. The head called himself a kind of confessor for his pupils (see page 190). This climate was considered necessary to become an effective school.

In theory, the head of school C seemed to be open to direct contact with pupils, but in practice pupils seemed to feel some initial resistance to making this contact and were rather inclined to turn to the teachers with their problems before visiting the head. The head of this school appeared to emphasize discipline and authority. This climate was considered necessary for an effective school.

At school D, contacts between pupils and head were rather open and informal. Not

only did the doors of all classrooms remain open but the door of the heads' office was almost always literally wide open to his pupils and teachers. The head as well as the teacher whom we interviewed considered this to be necessary for effectiveness. This open climate had to be one of the characteristics of a school.

At school E, contacts between head and pupils proceeded rather informally and the head tried to reduce the distance between himself and the pupils as much as possible. This was considered necessary to make pupils feel at home at school and to be an effective school.

At school F, the same attitude was met with regard to the contact with pupils as in school E. This climate was considered necessary to provide broader education instead of providing a mere transference of knowledge. In that way open contact with pupils was considered necessary in order to approach their idea of effectiveness. At school I, the head had the same view as the heads of schools F, G and J. Such direct contact between head and pupils were considered to be essential to create an atmosphere of friendship, understanding and collaboration on all levels - in short to become an effective school (cf. his view on an effective school).

At school J, contacts between pupils and head evolved according to the same pattern as in the schools E, F, and I. Since, to be effective, education should take place in a friendly environment, open and almost informal contact between head, teachers, and pupils was considered very important.

**Teachers** of the schools A, C, G, H, K, and L saw no direct impact of the relations between pupils and head on the quality of education.

Nevertheless, the teacher of school B had a different opinion. He felt that the relations between pupils and head influenced in a negative way the effectiveness of schooling and consequently the quality of education (see pages 190-191). The teachers had the feeling that the principal undermined the authority of teachers because he almost always put the pupils in the right when conflicts between pupils and teachers arose. The view of the teacher of the impact of contacts between head

and pupils could be linked to his view on an effective school. The head as well as the teacher of this school thought that it was important for a school to have a feeling of group loyalty in order to reach its objectives.

The teachers of school D, E, F, I, and J shared the view of their heads with regard to the influence of the relations with pupils on the quality of education, i.e. the relations with pupils influenced directly the effectiveness of schooling.

### 2.3.3. Relations with the local community

The relations of schools with five different agents of the local community were discussed in chapter 6 under 2.3. *Relations with local community*. Since contacts with universities and colleges, local community organizations, local political parties and the local police were rather limited, none of the respondents saw a link between these contacts and the effectiveness of schooling, or the quality of education. Figure 6.8 in chapter 6 summarizes the contacts which schools maintained with local industrial and commercial concerns.

At schools A, C, I, J, and D contacts with industry and business had to be based on the level of the pupils. Contacts were restricted to the occasional visits of pupils to these companies. These contacts were considered to contribute to the quality of education since they could illustrate and actualize the subject matter.

The contacts of schools E, H, and K with industry and business went further. These schools had to rely on industrial and commercial concerns for the practical training of their pupils, and for the evaluation of qualification tests and final tests. In addition, these schools could also count on the material or financial support of certain companies. Since schools complained of a lack of financial means, this support was used as fully as possible to keep the equipment up-to-date. In that way, these relations were considered to improve the quality of education and the

effectiveness of schooling.

Schools B, F, G, and L received some support from industrial and commercial concerns but they realized that this did not assume the same proportion as in other schools. Although these schools also recognized that this support might compensate for the lack of financial means and improve the quality of education, none the less they did not promote these contacts as extensively as some other schools. At school F, the head, even feared to arrive at a dependent relationship with local concerns. The real danger was that local concerns might expect something in return for their financial or material support. In that way a school could jeopardize its educational autonomy.

### 2.4. The management of teachers

Several aspects of the management of teachers have been discussed in § 3. *Management of teachers* in chapter 6. In this paragraph we question whether our respondents considered these issues to influence the quality of education and the effectiveness of schooling. The following aspects are discussed: recruitment; appointment and dismissal of teachers; evaluation of the staff; in-service training of teachers; engagement of teachers; and co-operation and consultation among teachers.

#### 2.4.1. Recruitment, appointment, and dismissal of teachers

The changes with regard to recruitment, appointment, and dismissal of teachers have already been described in 3.1. *Recruitment, appointment, and dismissal* of teachers in chapter 6. In that paragraph we noticed that whereas many changes had been instituted with regard to this topic, in practice an impressive number of rules limited the local authority with regard to these topics. The lack of freedom which schools experienced with regard to recruitment, appointment, and dismissal of teachers, appeared to have had serious consequences on local school policy and

consequently on the effectiveness of schooling. Heads especially stressed that this lack of freedom had harmed the effectiveness of schooling, and, more particularly, the system of tenure and the redeployment system were disapproved (see pages 199-203). Some heads, however, admitted that the impact of these policies on the quality of education was rather restricted within their school. The heads of schools D, E, and G agreed with the other heads that the redeployment policy, the system of tenure, and other measures in this area might certainly reduce the quality of education, but admitted that this influence was neutralized in their schools since they could rely on a very good and very well motivated staff.

#### 2.4.2. The evaluation of staff

None of the heads paid much attention to the evaluation of their staff apart from the formal prescribed evaluations of new teachers. Nevertheless, most heads admitted that a regular evaluation of the staff might improve the quality of education. They agreed that teachers might be motivated when heads showed some interest in their work by attending classes and so on. However, since they had no time, none of them could indeed put these ideas into practice (see 3.2. *Evaluation of the staff* in chapter 6).

#### 2.4.3. In-service training

The in-service training of teachers was by almost all respondents considered to contribute to the quality of education. Moreover, in-service training was seen to be necessary for teachers to keep up with new developments in their discipline. However the organization of in-service training courses was not always effective. The reasons why in-service training was not providing benefit were already elaborated in 3.3. *In-service training of teachers* in chapter 6. It has to be said that almost all respondents, teachers as well as heads, argued that as such the contact with other teachers during these in-service training courses was stimulating. Teachers had

the opportunity to talk to teachers in the same discipline and could renew their ideas or find new energy. Apart from the question of whether the courses as such were beneficial or not, these contacts alone already had a positive influence on the quality of education.

Nevertheless, only three respondents were unconditionally positive about the in-service training of teachers. The head as well as the teacher of school D felt that in-service training has had positive consequences for the quality of education. Not only might the things that teachers learned on these courses be used afterwards in classroom practice, but the contact as such which teachers could have with other teachers in their discipline might have improved the quality of education. The teacher of school K shared the opinion that in-service training was always interesting. Consequently it was seen as an important resource for the improvement of the quality of education.

Only one respondent denied that the current in-service training was an important instrument to improve the quality of education. Courses were too theoretical and not usable in the classroom. He stressed that teachers only wasted their time and money by attending these courses.

All other respondents thought that in some cases these courses were very interesting, could be used in classroom practice, and consequently had had a positive effect on the quality of education. Nevertheless, half the time these courses were too theoretical and failed to make the connection with daily classroom practice.

It has to be emphasized that although the current in-service training was often criticized, all respondents agreed that in-service training was indispensable to maintain a high level of education. Teachers had to remain up-to-date if a school wanted to provide a high level of education. Criticisms that we heard were not directed at the in-service training as such but to the way it was now organized.

## 2.4.5. The engagement of teachers

The engagement of teachers in school life was considered to be very important by all respondents in all schools (see 3.4. *Engagement of the teachers* in chapter 6). All respondents agreed this influenced the atmosphere at school and could improve the quality of education. Since supplementary tuition for pupils was provided on a voluntary basis and teachers did not receive any compensation for this task, this was also regarded as extra engagement of teachers in school life. This extra tuition was considered to improve the quality of education but neither heads nor teachers wanted to provide such extra tuition systematically and permanently. They argued that when pupils systematically needed these extra courses it was obvious they were not in the right track and needed a re-orientation. We have already discussed the impact of the increasing interference of parents in the educational work of teachers and the negative consequences of the policy of redeployment. Both processes were also seen as hindering the engagement of teachers in school life and in that way as lowering the quality of education (see 3.4 in chapter 6, page 214).

## 2.4.6. Co-operation and deliberation among teachers

Co-operation and deliberation among teachers took place in class councils, subject work groups, and in more informal ways (see 3.5. *Co-operation and deliberation among teachers* in chapter 6).

Although the degree of co-operation and deliberation differed from school to school, all respondents agreed that this could contribute to the quality of education. However, not all organs for co-operation and deliberation were considered effective and such co-operation and deliberation need not take place for all aspects of education.

Co-operation and deliberation among teachers about textbooks, subject matter, teaching equipment, and sometimes about evaluation methods was very usual.

However most teachers refused to allow any interference with their own teaching methods.

With regard to the organs in which this co-operation and deliberation took place, we noticed that in most schools the subject work-groups were most of the time not active (See figure 6.10 in chapter 6). Nevertheless, teachers admitted that the co-operation and deliberation among teachers of the same subject were important and would improve the quality of education. However this did not have to take place in these formal organizations. For that reason the subject work-groups were not regarded as important instruments for the effectiveness of schooling. In most schools, deliberation among subject teachers was a very informal enterprise.

Another place of deliberation among teachers was the class council. In this council, all teachers of a particular form would meet. At these class councils, teachers discussed the evaluation of pupils, pupils or classes with disciplinary problems, the discipline at the school as a whole, and so on. In addition to that, class councils delivered orientation certificates at the end of the school year and might also re-orientate pupils at the beginning of the school year. All respondents emphasized the importance of these class councils and called the class councils important instruments for the effectiveness of schooling. The main reason was that the evaluation of pupils had to be taken very seriously and always had to be justified. Subjects discussed at these councils were too important to be treated informally.

## 2.5. Inspectorate and pedagogic counselling

As already indicated under § 4. *Inspectorate and pedagogic counselling services* in chapter 6, the inspectorate has recently been changed. Most schools could only reveal their expectations with regard to effectiveness since the new inspectorate had not yet visited them. However most of them were positive towards it. The influence on the effectiveness of schooling was expected to be positive, but could



not yet be evaluated. Nevertheless, the remark was heard that these changes might very well provoke an improvement only in theory. With regard to the pedagogic counselling services the same conclusions were met. Most schools had as yet no experience with the pedagogic counselling services and could not give their view on effectiveness.

Only two schools had had a visit from the new inspectorate at the time at which we investigated the schools (schools H and L). In both schools, heads as well as teachers were rather enthusiastic about this visit. Teachers and the head of school H stressed that the new inspectorate was making a strong contribution to the quality of education and the effectiveness of a school in all its aspects. Not only was the performance of teachers examined but also e.g. the engagement of pupils. The fact that this team not only paid attention to the minor points of the school but also to the positive ones was especially seen to be very stimulating by all respondents at the school, who also expressed their willingness to deal with the shortages indicated by the new inspectorate and expected the pedagogic counsellors to help them in resolving these problems. This was why the pedagogic counselling service was expected to become an important instrument for the improvement of education.

The heads of the schools A, B, D, E, F, G, J, and K expected that the new inspectorate would improve the quality of education and the effectiveness of schooling in all its aspects (see also figure 6.11 in chapter 6). These heads admitted that a school needed to be inspected from time to time. From schools which were already examined by the new inspectorate they had heard that this team paid attention to negative as well as positive characteristics of the school and that schools were given the opportunity to compensate for possible shortcomings. This constructive criticism was expected to contribute to the quality of education and especially the fact that whereas, in the past, an inspector's visit produced only a restricted report, now the school as a whole would be examined, and this was expected to lead to a more effective school and improving educational standards.

Since a whole team of inspectors would examine the whole school during several days, they would have a broader view of the school and would be able to make a positive contribution to school life. The examination of the school by a team of inspectors was expected to become a kind of sounding-board through which all participants in school life might learn what was good and what should be improved. This could only increase the quality of education. Whereas most of these schools had as yet no experience with the new pedagogical counsellors, apart from a short visit to make acquaintance with the heads, only school D had a counselling visit which was considered to be very positive. Consequently, the head of school D especially expected the pedagogic counselling service to become an important instrument in the improvement of the quality of education as a whole (see page 231).

The head of school C agreed in general with the heads of the above mentioned schools, but was afraid that in theory the system would not work as it should and that finally nothing would change.

The head of school I was the only head expecting no improvement whatsoever from the new inspectorate. The former inspection was also not regarded as having been of much help for effectiveness and the new system would not change much.

The opinion of teachers towards the effectiveness of the new inspectorate are summarized in figure 6.13 in chapter 6. The teachers' expectations at schools E, G, and K corresponded with those of their heads. These teachers had high expectations of the new inspectorate. Since the team would make a global analysis of the school, they expected it to lead to a more effective school and to increasing educational standards.

On the other hand, the teachers of schools A, B, D, F, I, and J had certain objections. Although they admitted that the new inspectorate was an improvement in theory, they feared that in practice little would change since a large number of

these inspectors and pedagogical counsellors were the same people as in the past. According to these respondents, just as in the past, the results of these visits would remain connected with the personality of the inspector. Certain inspectors made positive contributions and could improve the quality of education, others only criticized teachers and kept themselves busy with trivialities. These inspectors made no contribution whatsoever to the quality of education. Nor were the pedagogic counsellors expected to change anything in practice. If, however, this new inspectorate were to work as theoretically planned, then, it might provide a major improvement in the effectiveness of schooling.

## 2.6. Financial and equipment management

Recently schools acquired greater freedom to undertake their own financial and equipment management. The financial autonomy of Community schools in particular had increased, although this occurred more theoretically than in practice since this autonomy was severely restricted by the lack of financial resources. Whereas local autonomy had increased, the financial resources had not. Since resources were so limited, the positive effect of the increased local autonomy on the effectiveness of schooling was rather weak. The lack of financial means was considered by some heads to be one of the main obstacles to establishing an education system of high quality.

One major reason for this argument should be remembered. Since operating costs were distributed on the basis of points per pupil, schools tended to keep as many pupils as possible in their school. Teachers in particular were not happy with the competition among schools arising as a result of this system of subsidies, which harmed the effectiveness of schooling. The result was often a declining quality of education.

(...) B01: We have arrived in a system where every pupil counts for a few hours and minutes and a certain amount of money. As a consequence schools evaluate pupils in function of the tracks in school. So that pupils are sure to stay within the school. (...)

The lack of financial resources caused a lack of equipment. Especially in technical schools this was a problem for the effectiveness of schooling. Materials were getting out of date; some schools had too few classrooms; technical schools could not acquire the new and advanced equipment used in industry, and so on. Whereas most schools struggled with these problems, not all of them considered the lack of financial resources as the most important obstacle for the effectiveness of schooling. The quality of education was still considered to be influenced more by the quality of the teachers and the school climate than by the available financial resources and infra-structure. Schools realized that the circumstances to provide education were not always optimal, but tried to make the best of it with the resources they had. Nevertheless, they were convinced that it would be easier to offer a high level of education if the resources were not so restricted. In the future, however, heads and teachers expected the problems to increase. Since the funding that schools received was calculated on the basis of points per pupils the declining number of pupils was considered as one of the serious problems education would have to deal with in the future. All respondents even expected the situation to worsen in the future because of the declining number of enrolments. Some respondents argued that an increase in scale of educational institutions was the only solution for these problems.

(...) B01: Schools destroy each other and this goes on at the expense of the pupils. For instance, we offer a track 'home help'. We have done this for several years now. Several other schools saw that this track attracts many pupils and as a consequence they also wanted to offer this track. But in that



way schools are destroying each other. We are in a too small hunting field with too many hunters. But this can't last forever. We will have to move to an increase in scale of educational institutions. (...)

## 2.7. The meaning of the curriculum and evaluation for effectiveness

### 2.7.1. The unified structure

What is the impact of the unified structure on the quality of education? First we should note that schools of Type I did not experience the unified structure as a big change (schools A, B, C, D, G, H, K, and L). In Type II schools, the change was felt to be more radical (schools E, F, I, J). Whereas none of the schools we visited were unconditionally positive or negative about the unified structure, several remarks were heard that could influence the quality of education (see 6.1. *The unified structure* in chapter 6). Only those aspects that are considered to influence the quality of education now or in the future are discussed here.

The most important characteristic of the unified structure was considered to be the common part of the curriculum. With this common part, the choice by pupils of a specific track was postponed until the second grade. However this postponement was considered to have negative consequences for the quality of education. Parents wanted to keep their children as long as possible within general education, and, since the operating costs were distributed on the base of points per pupil, general schools also wanted to keep these pupils as long as possible. According to some interviewees, this led not only to a diminishing quality of education in general education but also in technical and vocational education. When pupils finally arrived in these tracks, they had already failed several times and they were no longer motivated to attend classes. This had serious consequences for the quality of education in technical and vocational schools. However, this process was attributable not only to the collective year in the unified structure, but also to the way in which schools were subsidized,

the attitude of parents, and so on - all of which were responsible for this decline in the quality of education. Besides that, the remark was made that in fact the definitive choice for a certain track was already made in the first year. This harmed for instance middle schools that were in the neighbourhood of large technical and vocational schools. They had difficulties in attracting pupils who wanted to continue general education (school D).

Whereas several other characteristics of the unified structure were discussed in chapter 6, the link between these characteristics and the quality of education was not immediately made.

### 2.7.2. Curricula and attainment targets

Curricula are considered to be very important instruments in maintaining the quality of education. The necessity of curricula was acknowledged by all respondents<sup>4</sup>. But the remark was made that, even with these curricula, the quality of education differed too much from school to school. Most respondents agreed that these differences should be phased out. Some respondents expected the attainment targets to level out these differences. It should be made clear that, whereas all heads were positive towards these attainment targets, not all respondents expected these attainment targets to change anything in practice (see figure 6.14 in chapter 6). Teachers were often not even informed about the attainment targets (see figure 6.15 in chapter 6).

### 2.7.3. The evaluation of pupils

With regard to the evaluation of pupils we refer to § 1. *The outcome of education* in this chapter. In that paragraph we have already paid attention to the

<sup>4</sup> It should be mentioned, however, that most respondents felt that they had enough freedom within the curriculum to exercise their own fields of knowledge in their own way.

standards of evaluation and their link with the level of education. Apart from these assessments we have to notice that schools felt rather free with regard to the evaluation of their pupils. However this freedom was not always considered to be an advantage. The freedom of evaluation could widen the differences in standards among schools (see 6.3. *Evaluation* in chapter 6). With regard of the feed-back to pupils and parents, the feed-back to pupils was considered especially necessary to increase the quality of education. Pupils were thought to learn more from the discussion of tests and examinations afterwards than from the tests as such. Another aspect of the evaluation that might influence the quality of education were the re-examinations. The views of heads and teachers towards the new legislation on re-examinations are summarized in figure 6.17 and 6.18 in chapter 6. However, an important effect of the abolition of re-examinations was expected by some respondents, who believed that, as a consequence of this abolition, teachers would more easily decide to send pupils to lower levels of education. Pupils who were able to attend a certain track, but for several reasons had messed things up during the school year, would more easily be relegated to a less appreciated track.

## 2.8. Equality of opportunities for immigrant children

At schools A, B, C, E, G, I, and J, the problems related to the presence of immigrant pupils did not occur. For that reason almost no measures had been taken with regard to this issue (see 4.1. in chapter 5). We restrict the analysis to those schools struggling with the presence of immigrant pupils and look at the influence of the measures taken with regard to the quality of education and the effectiveness of schooling.

At school D, the number of immigrant children was very high. 64% of the pupils of the first year were immigrant pupils. The most important measure taken in this school in relation to immigrant pupils was their participation in the innovation project (see 4.3. in chapter 5). At this school, the influence of this project on

effectiveness was considered positive. On the one hand, the participation in this project had led to several other measures and, on the other hand, the project itself had had good results and improved the quality of education. The head as well as the teacher saw the innovation project as an important instrument for the improvement of the quality of education at their school.

At school H, the measures that had been taken with regard to immigrant pupils were restricted. The number of immigrant pupils in the first year was less than 10%. All measures were directed mainly to contacts with the immigrant parents. Translating school regulations, special parents' evenings for parents of immigrant pupils, and so on. However, at this school no real problems occurred with regard to immigrant pupils. The link between these measures and the quality of education was not made by the respondents at this school.

At school F, about 14% of the first-year pupils were immigrant children. Besides a few minor measures such as the translation of certain school documents into the language of the parents, the most important measure was their participation in the innovation project. The effectiveness of this programme, however, was questioned at this school. Its immediate influence on the quality of education had not yet been experienced although they thought this might change for the better in the future.

Although 16% of the first-year pupils were immigrant children, school K had not entered the innovation project. Other measures had been taken to improve the contact with parents of immigrant children but the link between these measures and the quality of education was not made.

Finally, at school L, 28% of the first-year pupils were immigrant pupils. This school entered into the innovation project and took several other measures mainly to improve the relations with parents of these immigrant pupils. The influence on

the quality of education had not yet been felt in this school but according to the head its impact might become visible in the future. With regard to the innovation project in particular the head thought it was too soon to judge the results.

## 2.9. Equality of opportunities for different gender and for social classes

Measures with regard to the equality of opportunities for different gender and equality of opportunities for social classes were discussed in § 5. *Equality of opportunities for different gender* and § 6. *Equality of opportunities for social classes* in chapter 5.

Heads as well as teachers did not pay any attention to the equality of opportunities for different gender. Apart from the head of school L, none of the respondents saw this to be a problem. Therefore its influence on the quality of education was not discussed. Although we might expect that especially those schools which emphasized that to become an effective school pupils should develop a sense of belonging and like to come to the school would connect measures taken with regard to the equality of opportunities for social classes with the effectiveness of schooling, none of the respondents made a direct link between the two.

## § 3. Conclusion

In chapter 7 the results of school policy as experienced by the respondents were discussed. Two aspects were investigated: 1) the outcome of education; and 2) the contribution of educational resources to the quality of education.

Concerning the results of education for every school, special attention was paid to the level of education and the rates of those attending higher education. The level of education had two meanings: 1) the level of education actually attained, and

2) the standards to be attained.

The attained level of education and the proportion of former pupils continuing in further education was different in general, technical, and vocational schools. However, in general most former pupils of general education and a large number of those in technical education went on to higher education, whereas most former pupils in vocational education had left school after secondary education.

With regard to attendance in higher education by immigrant children we noticed that, since most immigrant pupils were still predominantly enrolled in vocational education, they did not pursue further education after secondary school.

As far as the standards to be attained by the pupils were concerned, we noticed that in some schools those standards had been adjusted. Most respondents thought that the reason for this had to be connected with a combination of the 'waterfall system' and the distribution of the means of operation among the schools. Parents wanted to keep their children as long as possible in general education even when they had difficulties in achieving the necessary level of education. Only after several failures would children choose education of a lower level. Since operational means were distributed on the basis of points per pupil, schools had to keep as many pupils as possible within their school in order to survive. Consequently, schools felt the need to adjust their level of education and their educational standards. Whereas this process was recognized only in some schools, the respondents in other schools were aware of the problem and expressed their fear about it.

In § 2 we described the consequences of changes in educational resources for the effectiveness of schooling.

It has to be emphasized that most respondents thought that the new educational resources such as the new inspectorate, the pedagogical counselling

services, and the increased local autonomy with regard to the management of teachers, would provide an improvement in the effectiveness of schooling. But some of them warned of some emerging problems. In practice, not all resources always worked as expected. Some changes in educational resources were considered to be too theoretical to bring about an improvement. Depending on the nature of respondents' views of what constituted an effective school, these resources were considered to make positive contributions to the effectiveness or to fail to do so (e.g., the participation of teachers and parents<sup>5</sup>). In addition, the link between some resources and effectiveness was not always made (e.g., respondents saw no link between participation of pupils and actions for different gender and for working class children and effectiveness).

The greatest influence, positive or negative, was considered to come from the following educational resources<sup>6</sup>:

Although, in theory local autonomy with regard to **recruitment, appointment and dismissal** of teachers had increased, especially in Community schools, some measures had reduced this autonomy, thus the creation of rules, and the re-deployment policy and the system of tenure restricted local autonomy and was often seen as cutting the effectiveness of schooling.

More or less the same observation was made with regard to the **in-service training of teachers**. Although all respondents, heads as well as teachers believed

<sup>5</sup> In particular, those respondents who felt that in order to be an effective school pupils and teachers had to develop a sense of belonging, and that the engagement of teachers and parents was really important in this process, felt the increased participation of teachers to contribute to effectiveness.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. a large number of respondents felt that the relations with pupils had no impact on the effectiveness of schooling (heads of schools A, G, H, K, and L and teachers of schools A, C, G, H, K, A and L). Other respondents felt (except teacher B) that relations with pupils could improve the quality of education.

that in-service training as such could improve the quality of education and, in fact, was needed to maintain a high level of education, a certain number of respondents thought that, in practice, in-service training courses were badly organized and consequently missed their aim.

The **new inspectorate and pedagogical counselling services** were considered to make a clearly positive contribution to the quality of education in schools that had already had a visit from these teams (schools H and L). But although a large number of the respondents of schools not yet visited by the new inspectorate expected the team to influence effectiveness for the better (especially heads), the same fear of poor results was mentioned by several respondents.

With regard to the **financial and equipment management**, in theory, increased local autonomy would certainly influence the effectiveness of schooling for the better. But there was a problem: whereas local autonomy had increased, financial resources had not. Since these resources were considered to be too limited, the positive effect of increased local autonomy was doubted by respondents.

Concerning the implications of the **curriculum and evaluation** for effectiveness two new resources were especially criticized: the **unified structure** and, more in particular, the common part in the first grade, and the abolition of re-examinations. Whereas the common part of education established by the unified structure was felt to have good intentions, viz. to postpone pupils' choice until the second grade, this was considered to have negative consequences for the quality of education. Parents wanted to keep their children in general education as long as possible and so did schools. As a consequence of the distribution of the means of operation, each school wanted to keep the pupils in their school as long as possible. This development might influence in a negative way not only the quality of education in general education, but also in technical and vocational education. When some pupils finally arrived in these tracks, they had already failed several times and were

not motivated to attend classes. Another danger for the quality of education was the abolition of **re-examinations** which would not only prevent pupils from having a second chance but might also induce teachers to decide more easily to send pupils to lower levels of education. Pupils who were able to attend a certain track, but for several reasons had messed things up during the school year would more easily arrive in a less appreciated track.

Although almost all respondents of all the schools we visited attached great importance to **relations with parents**, increased negative contacts with parents were thought to be influencing the effectiveness of schooling in a negative way. Only the head of school C believed that the increased interference of parents in the educational work of teachers and of the school as a whole could improve the quality of education. The opinion in some other schools was similar. The heads and teachers of schools I and J and the head of school D felt that the increased contacts with parents proceeded in a positive way and consequently would influence the quality of education for the better.

At the end of the presentation of all the factors influencing the effectiveness of schooling it should be stressed that this summary is mainly focused on the problematic areas. This is partly a consequence of the tendency of people interviewed about educational resources to pay most attention to problems. This might create the impression that heads and teachers in general were very dubious about the significance of the educational resources for the effectiveness of schooling. This is not correct. Educational resources have their possibilities, but at the same time they have their limitations. Heads and teachers are aware of this.

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**APPENDIX 1.**

# FULL CURRICULUM EDUCATION

(in Belgium (Flanders))

The 1990-1991 school year

	Community	Provincial	Municipal	Private	Boys	Girls	Total
<b>Nursery school</b>							
Regular	27.932	261	36.444	148.060	109.002	103.695	212.697
Special	268	8	185	944	871	534	1.405
<b>Total</b>	<b>28.200</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>36.629</b>	<b>149.004</b>	<b>109.873</b>	<b>104.229</b>	<b>214.102</b>
<b>Primary education</b>							
Regular	55.637	697	89.459	266.347	209.619	202.521	412.140
Special	3.013	81	3.094	12.250	11.534	6.904	18.438
<b>Total</b>	<b>58.650</b>	<b>778</b>	<b>92.553</b>	<b>278.597</b>	<b>211.153</b>	<b>209.425</b>	<b>430.578</b>
<b>Secondary education</b>							
<i>Unified structure</i>							
1st year	12.343	1.631	3.452	54.716	37.319	34.823	72.142
2nd year	9.133	1.394	2.364	46.771	30.388	29.274	59.662
2nd BSO year	3.401	631	1.419	7.464	7.090	5.825	12.915
<b>Total 1st grade</b>	<b>24.877</b>	<b>3.656</b>	<b>7.235</b>	<b>108.951</b>	<b>74.797</b>	<b>69.922</b>	<b>144.719</b>
<i>Second grade</i>							
General	10.176	455	971	26.151	16.624	21.129	37.753
Technical	5.851	2.093	2.524	13.342	14.267	9.543	23.810
Artistic	102	31	128	280	187	354	541
Vocational	8.633	1.534	3.309	12.642	12.580	13.538	26.118
<b>Total 2nd grade</b>	<b>24.762</b>	<b>4.113</b>	<b>6.932</b>	<b>52.415</b>	<b>43.658</b>	<b>44.564</b>	<b>88.222</b>
<i>Third grade</i>							
General	8.159	429	744	21.656	13.636	17.352	30.988
Technical	5.005	1.834	2.325	15.284	13.016	11.441	24.457
Artistic	83	21	54	230	115	273	388
Vocational	7.485	2.338	3.426	16.400	13.452	16.197	29.649
<b>Total 3rd grade</b>	<b>20.732</b>	<b>4.631</b>	<b>6.549</b>	<b>53.570</b>	<b>40.219</b>	<b>45.263</b>	<b>85.482</b>
<b>Total Type I</b>	<b>45.494</b>	<b>8.744</b>	<b>13.481</b>	<b>105.985</b>	<b>83.877</b>	<b>89.827</b>	<b>173.704</b>
<b>Type II</b>							
<i>Lower degree</i>							
General	-	67	-	13.675	6.928	6.814	13.742
Technical	9	438	154	10.166	7.135	3.632	10.767
Vocational	30	-	131	3.990	2.824	1.327	4.151
<b>Total lower degree</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>27.831</b>	<b>16.887</b>	<b>11.773</b>	<b>28.660</b>
<i>Higher degree</i>							
General	-	199	-	32.344	16.182	16.361	32.543
Technical	33	685	401	26.332	15.762	11.689	27.451
Vocational	382	163	529	18.174	9.734	9.514	19.248
<b>Total higher degree</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>1.047</b>	<b>930</b>	<b>76.850</b>	<b>41.678</b>	<b>37.564</b>	<b>79.242</b>
<b>Total Type II</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>1.552</b>	<b>1.215</b>	<b>104.681</b>	<b>58.565</b>	<b>49.337</b>	<b>107.902</b>
<b>Special education</b>							
Lower degree	2.543	332	2.295	8.575	8.320	5.425	13.745
Higher degree	-	-	14	75	54	35	89
<b>Total secondary education</b>	<b>2.543</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>2.309</b>	<b>8.650</b>	<b>8.374</b>	<b>5.460</b>	<b>13.834</b>
<b>Higher non-university education</b>	<b>73.368</b>	<b>14.284</b>	<b>24.240</b>	<b>328.267</b>	<b>225.613</b>	<b>214.546</b>	<b>440.159</b>
Short-term	9.616	6.543	2.695	36.462	22.289	33.027	55.316
Artistic education 2nd grade	156	-	-	-	50	106	156
3rd grade higher technical school	226	-	-	-	155	71	226
Artistic education 3rd grade	299	-	-	-	215	84	299
Non-classified divisions	-	170	181	-	128	223	351
Long-term	4.731	1.530	1.396	18.144	16.895	8.906	25.801
<b>Total higher non-university education</b>	<b>15.028</b>	<b>8.243</b>	<b>4.272</b>	<b>54.606</b>	<b>39.732</b>	<b>42.417</b>	<b>82.149</b>
<b>University education</b>	<b>16.967</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>39.937</b>	<b>31.125</b>	<b>25.779</b>	<b>56.904</b>
<b>General total</b>	<b>192.213</b>	<b>23.574</b>	<b>157.694</b>	<b>850.411</b>	<b>627.496</b>	<b>596.396</b>	<b>1.223.892</b>

**EVOLUTION OF SCHOOL POPULATION IN FULL CURRICULUM EDUCATION in Belgium (Flanders)**

	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91
NURSERY SCHOOL (regular + special)	224.216	223.973	228.431	232.811	236.517	236.247	232.706	224.888	217.913	213.735	212.833	214.102
PRIMARY SCHOOL (regular + special)	490.778	476.226	462.674	448.528	436.741	429.567	428.614	429.822	433.703	434.998	434.079	430.578
SECONDARY SCHOOL TOTAL	505.489	501.587	499.841	496.905	496.562	492.931	485.584	475.948	468.482	456.979	447.106	440.159
ASO	233.315	235.287	238.954	243.563	248.704	248.407	244.841	238.665	231.215	228.132	237.273	115.026
TSO	157.162	151.974	145.076	135.923	128.983	125.600	121.259	118.838	116.521	111.607	98.281	86.485
KSO	1.490	1.617	1.656	1.749	1.119	768	953	968	1.075	996	952	929
BSO (+ special)	113.522	112.709	114.155	115.670	117.756	118.156	118.531	117.477	119.671	116.244	110.600	93.000
UNIFIED STRUCTURE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	144.719
HOBUS	55.462	58.772	62.591	65.400	68.413	69.402	70.242	74.759	77.247	79.721	81.807	82.149
Short-term	42.550	44.954	48.016	50.000	51.235	50.710	50.092	52.912	53.803	54.824	55.776	55.316
Long-term	12.522	13.183	13.854	14.584	16.271	17.787	19.502	21.168	22.692	24.083	25.113	25.801
Other	390	635	721	816	907	905	648	679	752	814	918	1.032
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	45 282	47.331	48.543	50.135	51.775	52.536	52.472	52.309	52.588	53.069	55.452	56.904
TOTAL	1 321 227	1 307 889	1 302 080	1 293 779	1 290 008	1 280 683	1 269 618	1 257 726	1 249 933	1 238 502	1 231 277	1 223 892

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE HEAD

### ALGEMENE SCHOOLGEGEVENS (The school and its context)

1. Kunt U informatie geven over de materiële structuur van de school en de schoolgebouwen en duidt de educatieve geschiktheid hiervan aan.
2. Beschrijf het recruiteringsgebied waaruit de leerlingen afkomstig zijn. Geef de economische, sociale, culturele kenmerken en de urbanisatiegraad van dit gebied.
3. Worden er bepaalde selectiecriteria gebruikt bij de inschrijving van de leerlingen of worden alle leerlingen uit een bepaald recruiteringsgebied aanvaard? (Zo ja, geef volledige informatie ( kwalitatieve versus kwantitatieve recruitering, is er een inschrijvingsstop, hoe wordt dit georganiseerd ...))

### DE INSTROOM (The intake)

1. Moeten er bepaalde administratieve stappen gezet worden door de leerlingen en hun ouders voor en wanneer ze naar uw school overstappen? Welke? (vb. uitschrijven - inschrijven)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.
2. Vanuit hoeveel basisscholen/middenschole komen er leerlingen naar uw school? (eerste jaar)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.
3. Worden er in de school bepaalde evaluatieprocedures of niveau-testen gebruikt voor leerlingen die nieuw in de school toekomen? (systematisch of voor bepaalde gevallen)  
(Omschrijf deze zo gedetailleerd mogelijk)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.
4. Welk percentage van de huidige leerlingen is volgens U geschikt voor hoger onderwijs of universitaire studies? (verschillende richtingen)  
Welk percentage zal er volgens U slagen? (globaal cijfer)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

### CURRICULUM

1. Hoe, op basis van welke criteria en hoe vaak worden de leerlingen geëvalueerd?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.
2. Welke evaluatiegegevens worden er aan de leerlingen doorgespeeld? Wanneer gebeurt dit en hoe?  
(vb. klassikaal of individueel bespreken van de toetsen, kwal. of kwant. weergave van de resultaten, vooraf vastgestelde tijdstippen, regelmatige evaluatie, enz ...)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.
3. Welke gegevens worden er over de leerlingen systematisch bijgehouden? (vb. evaluatie van attitudes enz...?)  
Hoe was dit vijf jaar geleden?
4. Kunnen de leerlingen een keuze maken uit een aanbod van vakken? Wanneer? Krijgen de leerlingen en ouders informatie over deze vakken?  
Wordt er aan ouders en leerlingen raad gegeven i.v.m. de keuzevakken?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

### DOELSTELLINGEN (Goals)

1. Welke zijn volgens U, in volgorde van belangrijkheid, de voornaamste doelstellingen van het onderwijs die deze school nastreeft voor zijn leerlingen? Hoe zou deze lijst er vijf jaar geleden hebben uitgezien?  
Welke doelstellingen zijn in belang toegenomen, welke zijn nieuw, welke zijn in belang afgenomen, of zijn verdwenen van de lijst?
2. Wat is volgens u een "effectieve" school?  
Hoe zou u een effectieve school omschrijven?
3. Is uw school volgens U effectief (vanuit deze definitie/visie) en wat zijn de hindernissen om effectiever te zijn?  
Op welke vlakken is uw school volgens U effectief, op welke wel, op welke niet?

4. Omschrijf uw "onderwijsfilosofie" en de wijze waarop u deze tracht toe te passen in de alledaagse handelingen in de school.  
Was uw "onderwijsfilosofie" vijf jaar geleden dezelfde?  
Indien niet, op welke punten en waarom is deze veranderd?

5. Wordt er aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond gelijke kansen en sekse in de school?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting? In welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden?

6. Wordt er aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond culturele minderheden en multiculturalisme in de school?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting? In welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden?

7. Wordt er aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond klasseverschillen (sociale klasse/standen) onder de leerlingen in de school?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting? In welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden?

8. Wordt er aandacht besteed aan leerlingen met bijzondere onderwijsbehoeften in de school? (fysieke-, leer- en gedragsproblemen)  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting? In welke?  
Volgen kinderen met "bijzondere onderwijsbehoeften" de lessen samen met andere kinderen in dezelfde klassen?  
Is er daarvoor bijstand voorzien?  
Welk percentage van de tijd heeft een leerkracht dergelijke bijstand in de klas?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden?

9. Wordt er aandacht besteed aan de vraag naar de relevantie van het curriculum (en van onderwijs in het algemeen) voor jonge mensen in de jaren 90.  
Is het curriculum en de inhoud van de leerstof voldoende aangepast aan de leefwereld van jonge mensen in de jaren 90?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden?

10. Wordt er aandacht besteed aan de vraag naar de relevantie van onderwijs voor economische, industriële en arbeidsbehoeften?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting? In welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden?

11. Wordt er aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond de opvoeding van het hoogbehaafde kind? Worden deze jongeren herkend?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting? In welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden?

### ONDERWIJSBELEID (The governance of education)

1. Heeft de school meer macht/vrijheid gekregen in een van de volgende gebieden tijdens de laatste vijf jaar?  
Is de beleidsruimte/autonomie in deze gebieden vergroot?  
Zo ja, omschrijf de veranderingen in dat gebied.

Curriculum/inhoud van de leerstof

Evaluatie van de leerlingen

Evaluatie/waardering van het personeel

Beheer van het schoolbudget/uitgaven

Aanwerving, benoeming en ontslag van het personeel

Bepalen van de educatieve doelstellingen

Beheer/administratie van de school

Nascholing van het personeel

Evaluatie van de effectiviteit van de school

2. Waarom denkt u dat deze veranderingen in het beleid zich hebben voorgedaan? Ga dit na voor elk van de bovenstaande gebieden waarop u ja antwoordde.



3. Voor elk van de bovenstaande gebieden waarop u ja antwoordde, hebben deze veranderingen volgens U enig effect gehad op de "effectiviteit" van uw school? Hebben deze veranderingen een positief of negatief effect gehad? Ga dit na voor elk van de gebieden waarop u ja antwoordde.

4. Voor elk van de gebieden waarop u neen antwoordde, hebben er zich veranderingen voorgedaan die een invloed hadden op de effectiviteit van uw school? Hebben deze veranderingen een positieve of een negatieve invloed gehad op de effectiviteit?

5. Meent u dat de wijze waarop of de mate waarin de school verantwoording moet afleggen t.o.v. de volgende groepen veranderd is gedurende de laatste vijf jaar?

Geef voor elk van de groepen waarop u ja antwoordt een uitgebreide beschrijving van de veranderingen en van de invloed hiervan op de verhoging of vermindering van de effectiviteit van de school.

De centrale overheid (ministerie van onderwijs)

Inspecteurs

Ouders en leerlingen of toekomstige leerlingen

Ouderverenigingen

Industrie/handel

Vakbonden

Hoger Onderwijs (vb. universiteiten)

De inrichtende macht

### PERSONEEL (Staff)

1. Welk percentage van de leerkrachten heeft in het schooljaar 1991-1992 een cursus gevolgd die door instanties buiten de school werden georganiseerd en aangeboden i.v.m. het onderwezen vak, pedagogie, enz.

Bespreek de verschillende soorten cursussen

Geef de percentages van deelname voor elk van deze cursussen. (aan welke soorten wordt het meest deelgenomen?)

Wordt dit door de directie gestimuleerd?

Laat men dit over aan het initiatief van de leerkrachten zelf of is het de directie die het initiatief neemt?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Wat betreft de navorming die in de school zelf doorgaat, welke programma's werden door alle personeelsleden gevolgd in 1991-1992?

Geef nadere informatie over curriculaire, organisationele of pedagogische inhoud.

Wordt het volgen van navormingsactiviteiten door de directie gestimuleerd?

Welke navormingsprogramma's werden aan beperktere groepen van het personeel aangeboden?

Geef nadere informatie over het programma en het aantal deelnemers en dit voor elk programma.

Wat is de invloed van deze nascholing op de effectiviteit van de school? (voor zover dit nog niet eerder aan bod kwam)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Hebben deze bijscholingsprogramma's volgens U aanleiding gegeven tot of hebben deze invloed uitgeoefend op bepaalde onderwijskundige hervormingen?

4. Welk percentage van de schooluren worden niet aangewend voor formele onderwijsverplichtingen in een doorsnee week voor de volgende personen?

Directeur

Onderdirecteur

Oudste leraar wiskunde

Jongste leraar wiskunde

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

5. Schat, voor deze vier personen, het aantal uren per week die buiten de gewone schooluren besteed worden aan zaken die verband houden met de job. (Bespreek deze zaken)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Doet de school een beroep op interimarissen om afwezige leerkrachten te vervangen?

Zo ja, hoeveel uren per week worden deze tewerkgesteld?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

7. Bestaan er procedures voor de beoordeling van het personeel? Zo ja, bespreek deze uitvoerig.

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

#### **RELATIES MET OUDERS EN LOCALE GEMEENSCHAP**

(Parents/community/relations)

1. Neem het eerste jaar en ga na met hoeveel ouders er direct contact is geweest vorig schooljaar?(percentage)

(Met direct contact wordt hier bedoeld een ontmoeting in de school of een telefoongesprek)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Bestaan er mogelijkheden tot organisationele betrokkenheid van ouders in de school?

Welke?

Welk percentage van alle ouders neemt eraan deel?

Locale schoolraad/participatieraad

Oudervereniging/comité

Ouders als "helpers" bij de lessen/formeel organisationele rol bij huiswerk (eventueel andere "helpers") (tijd die hieraan besteed wordt?)

Andere (specificeer)

Hoe wordt deze participatie van ouders aan het schoolbeleid door de directie en de leerkrachten ervaren?

Staat men hier positief of eerder negatief tegenover?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Is er met de ouders contact over onderwijs aangelegenheden in het algemeen? (niet over hun kinderen in het bijzonder)

En zo ja, op welke wijze?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Welke formele informatie krijgen ouders ieder schooljaar over hun kind? (Geef informatie over elke gelegenheid)

Welke literatuur wordt er aan de ouders verstrekt? (schoolreglement, brochures, enz...)

(Onder deze informatie verstaan wij info rond curriculum of informatie over keuzevakken, enz...)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

5. Zijn er formele of informele contacten tussen de school en lokale instanties als :

Hoe verlopen deze contacten?

lokale industriële/commerciële bedrijven

lokale politie

lokale universiteiten of hogescholen

lokale socio-culturele verenigingen (vb. via de lokale raad/participatieraad)

lokale politieke partijen (vb. via de lokale raad/participatieraad)

Vergelijk dit voor elk van hen met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

**FORMELE ORGANISATIE** (Formal organisation)

1. Bestaan er organen om de leerkrachten te betrekken bij de besluitvorming binnen de school?

Welke zijn dat?

Wat is de invloed hiervan op de effectiviteit van de school volgens u?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Bestaan er organen om de leerkrachten te betrekken bij de administratie van de school?

Welke zijn dat?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Hoe verloopt de interne communicatie in de school?

(tussen de leerkrachten en de directie, tussen de leerkrachten onderling, tussen de leerkrachten en de leerlingen en tussen de directie en de leerlingen)

Bestaan hiervoor bepaalde structuren?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Bestaat er in de school een bepaald schoolontwikkelingsplan of zijn er bepaalde vormen van zelfevaluatie? (Waar willen wij met onze school naartoe)

Zo ja, geef daarover nadere informatie.

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

5. Omschrijf de academische organisatie van de klassen in de school. Worden de klassen homogeen of heterogeen samengesteld? (qua capaciteiten en sociale klasse)

Vergelijk deze organisatie met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Omschrijf in detail de beleidsstructuur van de school, de verschillende niveau's, de verantwoordelijkheid verbonden met ieder niveau, en de wijze waarop ieder niveau in verband staat met de leerlingen.

Bestaat er naast de formele structuur nog iets?

zijn de vroegere raden blijven bestaan? vb. beheerraad (hoe vaak komen deze organen bijeen)

Vergelijk deze beleidsstructuur met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

7. Wordt er in de school ook in teamverband les gegeven?

Zo ja, wat is de gemiddelde tijd die men besteed aan dit "team teaching"?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

8. Hoe zou u de pedagogie in de school omschrijven? (leerlinggericht of vakgericht)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

**FINANCIËN/MIDDELEN** (Finances/resources)

1. Omschrijf het proces van budgetplanning dat het globale niveau van inkomsten van de school bepaald. Hoe wordt het budget opgesteld? (vb. bouwen, leerlingenaantallen?)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Welke verschillende bronnen van inkomsten heeft de school? (vb. maaltijden, auto's repareren, automaten, boekenfondsen, enz...)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Welke macht/vrijheid heeft de school bij de bepaling van verscheidene aspecten van zijn budget zoals :

personeel

uitrusting/boeken

verbruiksgoederen (electriciteit, papier, enz...)

gebouwen

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Hoe hebben de totale uitgaven, en de percentuale verdeling hiervan over bovenstaande subgebieden, zich gewijzigd tijdens de laatste vijf jaar?

5. Ontvangt de school middelen in natura? (specificeer)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Beschrijf de werkomstandigheden van de leerkrachten in de school (diensten van het secretariaat, fotocopieermachines, leraarskamers, enz.)  
Zijn de middelen en omstandigheden aanwezig om goed les te geven en kan daar op een vlotte manier gebruik van worden gemaakt?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

### DE LEERLINGEN (The management of OTL)

1. Bestaan er in de school activiteiten waarin leerlingen zich kunnen engageren? (verenigingen, sportteams, musicale/culturele activiteiten, liefdadigheidsactiviteiten, enz)  
Welke?

Geef het percentage van al de studenten geëngageerd in elk type van activiteit die plaatsvindt in de school.

Wordt dit door de directie en leerkrachten gestimuleerd?

Hoe wordt dit door directie en leerkrachten ervaren? (positief of negatief)

Invloed op de effectiviteit van de school?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Bestaan er in de school organen om de leerlingen te betrekken bij de besluitvorming in de school?

Welke?

Komen de standpunten van de leerlingen regelmatig aan bod in de locale schoolraad/participatieraad?

Wordt dit door de directie en leerkrachten gestimuleerd?

Hoe wordt dit door directie en leerkrachten ervaren (positief of negatief)

Invloed op de effectiviteit van de school?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Bespreek al de mogelijke wijzen waarbij leerlingen verantwoordelijkheid kunnen dragen voor anderen in de school (vb. als voorzitter, of als organisator in een studentenbeweging)

Welk percentage van de leerlingen vervult een dergelijke rol?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Bespreek al de mogelijke wijzen waarbij leerlingen verantwoordelijkheid kunnen dragen voor anderen in de klas? (vb. door materiaal uit te delen bij het begin van de les)

Welk percentage van de leerlingen vervult een dergelijke rol?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

5. Welke "straffen" of "sancties" gebruikt men (a) in de klas en (b) in de school? (noem de verschillende vormen op)

Welk percentage van leerlingen ondergaat deze volgens u in een doorsnee week? (ga dit na voor elke vorm)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Welke beloningen bestaan er (a) in de klas en (b) in de school? (noem de verschillende vormen op)

Welk percentage van leerlingen ondergaat deze volgens u in een doorsnee week? (ga dit na voor elke vorm)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

### DE RESULTATEN VAN HET ONDERWIJS (The outcomes of education)

1. Geef nadere informatie over alle mogelijke zaken die de resultaten van leerlingen kunnen weergeven wanneer deze de school verlaten (eindexamens, profiel van de leerling, IQ-testen, testen i.v.m. vaardigheden, enz...)

Geef aparte gegevens over jongens en meisjes.

2. Geef de cijfers van de laatste vijf schooljaren voor alle niet-cognitieve of sociale informatie die over de leerlingen wordt bijgehouden.

(bv. cijfers rond delinquent gedrag van de leerlingen, rond het aantal leerlingen dat van de school gestuurd wordt, rond het aantal leerlingen dat naar speciale onderwijsprogramma's buiten de school wordt doorverwezen, rond geweld, vandalisme, enz..)

3. Geef de bestemming van de leerlingen van 18 jaar die de school verlaten. (percentage dat een job heeft, enz..)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Hoe groot zijn de verschillen (als ze er zijn) tussen etnische groepen wanneer ze de school verlaten?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

### HET MESO NIVEAU / DWANG EN ONDERSTEUNING

("pressure and support")

1. Hieronder vindt u een aantal zaken die de inspecteur kan behandeld hebben in het kalenderjaar 1992. Duidt aan of deze taken volbracht werden, hoe vaak dit gebeurde, wat dit precies inhield, waarom dit gebeurde (op initiatief van de school of iemand in de school of op initiatief van de inspecteur) en hoe dit voor u ervaren wordt (steun of dreiging?)

Controleren van onderwijsstandaarden (dit heeft betrekking op de kwaliteit van het lesgeven)

Controleren van nieuw onderwijsbeleid

Beoordeling van het personeel

Het verschaffen van pedagogisch advies aan het personeel

Het verschaffen van advies rond het curriculum aan het personeel

Het verschaffen van beleids/administratief advies aan het personeel

Het organiseren van navorming

Evaluatie van de effectiviteit van de school

Het behandelen van disciplinaire zaken i.v.m. het personeel

Het formeel inspecteren van de school (wat doet de inspecteur? klasagenda's opvragen, of nieuwe stijl : andere zaken bekijken, gaan ze naar de klassen om de leerlingen te tellen of kijken ze gewoon in de lijsten?)

Het adviseren van de directeur

Het behandelen van personeel/school geschillen

Het beoordelen/evalueren van de directeur

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TEACHER-REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LOCAL SCHOOL COUNCIL/PARTICIPATION COUNCIL

#### DE INSTROOM (The intake)

1. Worden er in de school (in de klas) bepaalde evaluatieprocedures of niveau-testen georganiseerd voor leerlingen die nieuw in de school toekomen? (Omschrijf deze zo gedetailleerd mogelijk)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Welk percentage van de huidige studenten is volgens u geschikt voor hoger onderwijs of universitaire studies?

Welk percentage zal er volgens U slagen? (globaal cijfer)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

#### CURRICULUM

1. Hoeveel huiswerk krijgen de leerlingen gemiddeld op? (Geef het gemiddelde aantal uren per week voor elk jaar in de school)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Hoe, op basis van welke criteria en hoe vaak worden de leerlingen geëvalueerd?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Welke evaluatiegegevens worden aan de leerlingen doorgespeeld?  
Wanneer gebeurt dit en hoe?  
(vb. klassikaal of individueel bespreken van de toetsen, kwal. of kwant. weergave van de resultaten, vooraf vastgestelde tijdstippen?, regelmatige evaluatie, enz...)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Welke gegevens worden er over de leerlingen systematisch bijgehouden? (vb. evaluatie van attitudes enz...?)  
Hoe was dit vijf jaar geleden?

5. Kunnen de leerlingen uit het aanbod van vakken een keuze maken? Wanneer?  
Krijgen de leerlingen en ouders informatie over deze vakken?  
Wordt er aan ouders en leerlingen raad gegeven i.v.m. de keuzevakken?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

### DOELSTELLINGEN (Goals)

1. Welke zij volgens U, in volgorde van belangrijkheid, de voornaamste doelstellingen van het onderwijs die deze school nastreeft voor zijn leerlingen?  
Hoe zou deze lijst er vijf jaar geleden hebben uitgezien?  
Welke doelstellingen zijn aan belang toegenomen, welke zijn nieuw, welke zijn aan belang afgenomen, of zijn verdwenen van de lijst?

2. Wat is volgens u een "effectieve" school?  
Hoe zou U een effectieve school omschrijven?

3. Is uw school volgens u effectief? (vanuit deze definitie/visie)  
Wat zijn volgens U de hindernissen om effectiever te zijn?  
Op welke vlakken is uw school volgens u effectief, op welke wel, op welke niet?

4. Kunt u uw "onderwijsfilosofie" omschrijven en de wijze waarop u deze tracht toe te passen in de alledaagse handelingen in de school.  
Was uw "onderwijsfilosofie" vijf jaar geleden dezelfde?  
Indien niet, op welke punten en waarom is deze veranderd?

5. Wordt er in de school of in de klas aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond gelijke kansen en sexe in de school?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting?  
En in welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Wordt er in de school of in de klas aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond culturele minderheden en multiculturalisme in de school?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting?  
En in welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

7. Wordt er in de school of in de klas aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond verschillen in sociale klasse van de leerlingen onder de leerlingen in de school?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen en maatregelen tot uiting?  
In welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

8. Wordt er in de school of in de klas aandacht besteed aan leerlingen met bijzondere onderwijsbehoeften (fysieke-, leer- en gedragproblemen).  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele maatregelen en voorzieningen tot uiting?  
Volgen kinderen met "bijzondere onderwijsbehoeften" de lessen samen met andere kinderen in dezelfde klassen?  
Zo ja, is daarvoor bijstand voorzien?  
Welk percentage van de tijd heeft een leerkracht bijstand in zijn/haar klas?  
Zo neen, omschrijf de organisatie van en de methodes van de voorzieningen voor kinderen met bijzondere onderwijsbehoeften.  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

9. Wordt er in de school of in de klas aandacht besteed aan de vraag naar de relevantie van het curriculum (en van onderwijs in het algemeen) voor jonge mensen in de jaren 90.  
(Is het curriculum aangepast aan het moderne leven? Wordt daarover gediscussieerd? Is dit bijv. iets waar de ouders op drukken ? ...)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

10. Wordt er in de school of in de klas aandacht besteed aan de vraag naar de relevantie van onderwijs voor economische, industriële en arbeidsbehoeften?  
Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele maatregelen tot uiting?  
In welke?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.



11. Wordt er in de school of in de klas aandacht besteed aan de problematiek rond de opvoeding van het hoogbegaafde kind?  
 Komt dit in bepaalde curriculaire en organisationele voorzieningen tot uiting?  
 In welke?  
 Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

### ONDERWIJSBELEID (The governance of education)

1. Heeft de school meer macht/vrijheid gekregen in een van de volgende gebieden tijdens de laatste vijf jaar?  
 Is de beleidsruimte/autonomie in deze gebieden vergroot?  
 Zo ja, omschrijf de veranderingen in dat gebied.

Curriculum/inhoud van de leerstof

Evaluatie van de leerlingen

Evaluatie van het personeel

Beheer van het schoolbudget/uitgaven

Aanwerving, benoeming en ontslag van het personeel

Bepalen van de educatieve doelstellingen

Beheer/administratie van de school

Nascholing van het personeel

Evaluatie van de effectiviteit van de school (inspectie)

2. Waarom denkt u dat deze veranderingen in het beleid zich hebben voorgedaan?  
 Hebben deze veranderingen volgens U enig effect gehad op de "effectiviteit" van uw school? (effectiviteit = school die waarde toevoegt aan de ontwikkeling van haar leerlingen)  
 Hebben deze veranderingen een positief of negatief effect gehad?  
 Ga dit na voor elk van de gebieden waarop U ja antwoordde?

3. Voor elk van de bovenstaande gebieden waarop u ja antwoordde :  
 Hebben er zich veranderingen voorgedaan die een invloed hadden op de "effectiviteit" van uw school?  
 Hebben deze veranderingen een positief of negatief effect gehad op de effectiviteit?

4. Meent u dat de wijze waarop of de mate waarin de school verantwoording moet afleggen t.o.v. de volgende groepen veranderd is gedurende de laatste vijf jaar?  
 Wat is volgens U het effect van een eventuele verandering op de effectiviteit van de school? Leidt dit tot een verhoging of een daling van de effectiviteit?

De centrale overheid (Ministerie van Onderwijs)

De inrichtende macht

De inspecteurs

De ouders van leerlingen

Ouderverenigingen

Industrie/handel

Vakbonden

Hoger onderwijs (vb. universiteiten)

### PERSONEEL (Staff)

1. Welk percentage van de leerkrachten heeft in het schooljaar 1991-1992 een cursus gevolgd die door instanties buiten de school werden georganiseerd en aangeboden i.v.m. het onderwezen vak, pedagogie, enz.  
 Bespreek de verschillende soorten cursussen  
 Geef de percentages van deelname voor elk van deze cursussen.(aan welke soorten wordt er vooral deelgenomen)  
 Wordt dit door de directie gestimuleerd?  
 Laat men dit over aan het initiatief van de leerkrachten zelf of is het de directie die initiatief neemt?  
 Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Wat betreft de navorming die in de school zelf doorgaat, welke programma's werden door alle personeelsleden gevolgd in 1991-1992?

Geef nadere informatie over curriculaire, organisationele of pedagogische inhoud.

Wordt het volgen van navormingsactiviteiten door de directie gestimuleerd?

Welke navormingsprogramma's werden aan beperktere groepen van het personeel aangeboden?

Geef nadere informatie over het programma en het aantal deelnemers en dit voor elk programma.

Wat is de invloed van deze nascholing op de effectiviteit van de school (voor zover dit nog niet eerder aan bod kwam)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Hebben deze bijscholingsprogramma's tot onderwijskundige hervormingen geleid in de school?

(vb. aanpassing onderwijsmethode, inhoud vakken, enz...)

4. Welk percentage van de schooluren worden niet aangewend voor formele onderwijsverplichtingen in een doorsnee week voor de volgende personen?

Directeur

Onderdirecteur

Oudste wiskundeleraar

Jongste wiskundeleraar

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

5. Schat, voor deze vier personen, het aantal uren per week die buiten de gewone schooluren besteed worden aan zaken die verband houden met de job. (Bespreek deze zaken)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Bestaan er in de school bepaalde procedures voor de beoordeling van het personeel? Zo ja, bespreek deze uitvoerig.

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

## RELATIES MET OUDERS EN LOKALE GEMEENSCHAP (Parent/community/relations)

1. Ga voor het eerste jaar in de school na met hoeveel ouders er direct contact is geweest in het vorige schooljaar (percentage)? (Met direct contact wordt hier bedoeld een ontmoeting in de school of een telefoongesprek)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Bestaan er in de school bepaalde organen om de ouders te betrekken bij de organisatie en besluitvorming in de school?

Welke zijn dat?

Welk percentage van alle ouders nemen eraan deel?

Locale schoolraad/participatieraad

Oudervereniging/comite

Ouder als "helpers" bij de lessen/formeel organisationele rol bij huiswerk (eventueel andere "helpers" in de school?)

Andere (specificeer)

Hoe wordt dit door leerkrachten en directie ervaren?

Positief of negatief?

Wat is hiervan volgens U de invloed op de effectiviteit van de school of op de kwaliteit van het onderwijs?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Is er contact met ouders over onderwijsaangelegenheden in het algemeen (niet over hun kinderen in het bijzonder)?

En zo ja, op welke wijze?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Welke formele informatie krijgen ouders ieder schooljaar over hun kind? (Geef informatie over elke gelegenheid)

(Onder deze informatie verstaan wij info rond curriculum of informatie over keuzevakken, enz.)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

5. Zijn er formele of informele contacten tussen de school en :  
Hoe verlopen deze contacten?

lokale industriële/commerciële bedrijven

lokale politie

lokale universiteiten of hogescholen

lokale socio-culturele verenigingen (vb. via locale schoolraad?)

lokale politieke partijen (vb. via locale schoolraad?)

Vergelijk dit voor elk van hen met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

#### **FORMELE ORGANISATIE** (Formal organisation)

1. Bestaan er organen om de leerkrachten te betrekken bij de besluitvorming binnen de school?

Welke zijn dat?

Wat is de invloed hiervan op de effectiviteit van de school volgens U?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Bestaan er organen om de leerkrachten te betrekken bij de administratie van de school.

Welke zijn dat?

Vergelijk dit met situatie vijf jaar geleden.

3. Hoe verloopt de interne communicatie in de school?

Bestaan daarvoor bepaalde mechanismen?

(Communicatie tussen leerkrachten en directie, tussen de leerkrachten, tussen de leerkrachten en de leerlingen en tussen de directie en de leerlingen)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Is er een bepaald schoolontwikkelingsplan of bestaan er bepaalde vormen van zelfevaluatie. Zo ja, geef daarover nadere informatie.

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden. (Waar willen wij met onze school naartoe ... Schoolproject)

5. Omchrijf in detail de beleidsstructuur van de school, de verschillende niveau's, de verantwoordelijkheid verbonden met ieder niveau, en de wijze waarop iedere rol (persoon) in verband staat met de leerlingen.

Bestaat er naast de formele structuur nog iets?

Zijn de vroegere raden blijven bestaan? (hoe vaak komen deze bij elkaar, hoe lang, enz...)

Vergelijk deze beleidsstructuur met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Hoe zou U de pedagogie in de school omschrijven? (leerlinggericht of vakgericht)

Vergelijk dit met de organisatie/pedagogie vijf jaar geleden?

#### **FINANCIEEN/GELDMIDDELEN** (Finances/resources)

1. Beschrijf de werkomstanigheden van de leerkrachten in de school (diensten van het secretariaat, fotocopieermachines, leraarskamers, enz.)

Zijn de middelen en omstandigheden aanwezig om goed les te geven en kan daar op een vlotte manier gebruik van worden gemaakt?

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

#### **DE LEERLINGEN** (The management of OTL)

1. Bestaan er in de school activiteiten waarin leerlingen zich kunnen engageren (verenigingen, sportteams, musicale/culturele activiteiten, liefdadigheidsactiviteiten, leerlingenraad, enz.)

Geef het percentage van al de studenten geëngageerd in elk type van activiteit die plaatsvindt in de school.

Wordt dit door de leerkrachten en directie gestimuleerd?

Hoe wordt dit door leerlingen en directie ervaren? (positief of negatief)

Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

2. Bestaan er organen om de leerlingen te betrekken in de besluitvorming binnen de school? Welke zijn dat?

Komen de standpunten van leerlingen regelmatig aan bod in de locale schoolraad/participatieraad?

Wordt dit door de directie gestimuleerd?

Hoe wordt dit door de directie ervaren?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf geleden.

3. Bespreek al de mogelijke wijzen waarbij leerlingen verantwoordelijkheid kunnen dragen voor anderen **in de school**. (vb. als voorzitter of als organisator van een studentenvereniging, leerlingenraad)  
Welk percentage van de leerlingen vervult dergelijke rol?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

4. Bespreek al de mogelijke wijzen waarbij leerlingen verantwoordelijkheid kunnen dragen voor anderen **in de klas** (vb. door materiaal uit te delen bij het begin van de les, klasmonitor, ...)  
Welk percentage van de leerlingen vervult een dergelijke rol?  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

5. Welke "straffen" of "sancties" gebruikt men (a) in de klas en (b) in de school? (noem de verschillende vormen op)  
Welk percentage van leerlingen ondergaat deze volgens u in een doorsnee week? (ga dit na voor elke vorm)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

6. Welke beloningen bestaan er (a) in de klas en (b) in de school? (noem de verschillende vormen op)  
Welk percentage van leerlingen ondergaat deze volgens u in een doorsnee week? (ga dit na voor elke vorm)  
Vergelijk dit met de situatie vijf jaar geleden.

#### HET MESO NIVEAU : DWANG EN ONDERSTEUNING (The meso level : pressure and support)

1. Hieronder vindt U een aantal zaken die de inspecteur behandeld kan hebben in het kalenderjaar 1992.  
Duid aan of deze taken volbracht werden,  
hoe vaak dit gebeurde,  
wat dit precies inhield,  
waarom dit gebeurde (op initiatief van de school of op initiatief van de inspecteur)

en hoe dit door u ervaren wordt (steun of dreiging)?

Controleren van onderwijsstandaarden

Controleren van het nieuwe onderwijsbeleid

Beoordeling van het personeel

Het verschaffen van pedagogisch advies aan het personeel

Het verschaffen van advies rond het curriculum aan het personeel

Het verschaffen van beleid/administratief advies aan het personeel

Het organiseren van navorming

Evaluatie van de effectiviteit van de school

Het behandelen van disciplinaire zaken i.v.m. het personeel

Het formeel inspecteren van de school

Het adviseren van de directeur

Het behandelen van personeel/school geschillen

Het beoordelen/evalueren van de directeur

#### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MATHTEACHER

1. Er zijn de laatste jaren een aantal hervormingen doorgevoerd in het onderwijs.

Welk effect hebben deze hervormingen op uw leven als leraar gehad?

Welk effect hebben deze hervormingen gehad op de effectiviteit (kwaliteit) van het onderwijs in de school en in de klas?

Indien U hier nog geen ervaring mee heeft, wat zijn U verwachtingen?

Bespreek dit voor de volgende punten:

De invoering van de eenheidsstructuur

Oprichting van de ARGO als inrichtenden macht (voor het gemeenschapsonderwijs)

Vernieuwde wetgeving rond de financiering

Verhoogde autonomie m.b.t. de benoeming van het personeel

Oprichting van locale schoolraden /participatieraden

Eindtermen

Vernieuwde inspectie

Nascholing

Vernieuwde begeleiding

Andere ?

2. In welke mate wordt er door de verschillende leraars wiskunde in deze school samengewerkt/overleg gepleegd op het vlak van :

curriculum/inhoud van de leerstof

de wijze van lesgeven

evaluatie van de leerlingen

werkschema's

andere ...

3. (Volgende vragen zijn bedoeld om inzage te krijgen in het beleid van de school)

Hoe vaak komen de leraars wiskunde bijeen? (eventueel in vakwerkgroepen, werkgroepen rond bepaalde thema's, ...)

Bestaan hiervoor bepaalde organen?

Hoe staat men in deze organen (of leraars wiskunde) t.o.v. de beleidsstructuur in de school?

Wat vindt men van de kwaliteit van de leiding van de school door de directeur?

4. (De volgende vragen worden aangewend om de processen van besluitvorming in de school te ontdekken)

i. U wil de tekst die U reeds jaren gebruikt veranderen. Wat zou U doen in deze school?

Wat zou U vijf jaar geleden gedaan hebben?

ii. U bent bezorgd over een leerling die ongelukkig lijkt in de klas. Wat zou U doen in deze school?

Wat zou U vijf jaar geleden gedaan hebben?

iii. U wenst promotie. Wat zou U doen in deze school?

Wat zou U vijf jaar geleden gedaan hebben?

iv. U wil het curriculum voor een van uw klassen veranderen. Wat zou U doen in deze school?

Wat zou U vijf jaar geleden gedaan hebben?

v. U wenst meer middelen voor wiskunde. Wat zou U doen in deze school?

Wat zou U vijf jaar geleden gedaan hebben?

vi. U maakt zich zorgen over de toenemende tekenen van onreglementair gedrag in de school. Wat zou U doen in deze school?

Wat zou U vijf jaar geleden gedaan hebben?

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE PARENTS

1. Beschrijf uw rol en die van belangengroepen in het algemeen in de school. Hoeveel macht/invloed heeft u en belangengroepen in het algemeen?

Over welke thema's heeft u met de school contact gehad in het kalenderjaar 1992?

2. Welke veranderingen hebt u opgemerkt gedurende de laatste vijf jaar in de wijze waarop de school een aantal zaken aanpakt?

Indien U nog geen veranderingen gemerkt heeft, verwacht U dit in de toekomst wel?

Bespreek dit voor elk van de volgende gebieden :

Het curriculum/inhoud van de leerstof

De academische organisatie

De doelstellingen van de school

De leerlingen van de school

De relatie van de school met de leerlingen

De bekwaamheden (academisch en sociaal) van de leerlingen bij het verlaten van de school

De leerkrachten

De leiding van de school door de directeur

De inkomsten van de school en de aanwending ervan

De relatie van de school met ouders en lokale gemeenschap

De relatie van de school met de centrale overheid

3. Denk na over de veranderingen in deze gebieden.

Waarom hebben deze veranderingen zich volgens u voorgedaan?

Was dit op initiatief van de school zelf of was dit vooral onder invloed van het ministerie van onderwijs, de inrichtende macht (de ARGO voor het gemeenschapsonderwijs) of enig ander orgaan?

4. Wat zijn volgens u de voordelen en de nadelen van deze veranderingen? Wat is volgens u de invloed hiervan op de kwaliteit van het onderwijs?

### Algemene schoolgegevens

Naam van de respondent : .....

Naam van de school : .....

Adres van de school : .....

### Vragenlijst

#### 1. Geslachtsverdeling van de leerlingen: (percentage)

Jongens : ..... %

Meisjes : ..... %

#### 2. Aantal leerlingen ingeschreven op

1 september 1992 : .....

1 september 1987 : .....

#### 3. Hoe ziet de leeftijdsspreiding van de leerlingen eruit? (aantal leerlingen per leeftijd)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

#### 4. Wat is de ouderdom van de schoolgebouwen?

..... jaar



5. Hoeveel leerlingen zitten er gemiddeld per klas?

(gemiddeld aantal leerlingen per klas)

.....

6. Wat is de leerling/leraar ratio?

(= het aantal leerlingen gedeeld door het aantal voltijdse leerkrachten)

.....

7. Wat is de totale grootte van de staf (voltijds en deeltijds)

i. leerkrachten : .....

ii. administratief personeel : .....

iii. onderhoudspersoneel : .....

8. Welk percentage van elk van deze drie groepen is reeds sinds vijf jaar of langer in de school tewerkgesteld?

i. .... %

ii. .... %

iii. .... %

9. Welk percentage van de leerlingen voor het eerst ingeschreven in het eerste jaar in het schooljaar 1988/1989 zijn thans nog in de school? (september 1992)

percentage leerlingen ..... %

10. Wanneer werd de school voor het eerst gevestigd in zijn huidige organisatorische status?

.....

11. Geef het percentage van de leerlingen voor het eerst ingeschreven in het eerste jaar dit schooljaar, 1992-1993, waarvan de ouders werkzaam zijn als arbeiders, bedienden of zelfstandigen.

arbeiders : ..... %

bedienden : ..... %

zelfstandigen : ..... %

Geef de percentages voor het schooljaar 1987/88.

arbeiders : ..... %

bedienden : ..... %

zelfstandigen : ..... %

12. Geef het percentage migranten in het eerste jaar.

..... % migranten

Geef tevens de percentages voor elke ethnische groep apart.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Geef voor elk van deze ethnische groepen het percentage leerlingen die niet geboren zijn in België.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Geef voor elk van deze ethnische groepen het percentage leerlingen wiens moedertaal niet het Nederlands is.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

13. Welk diploma hebben de leerkrachten in de school?

Geef het voor elk type diploma het aantal leerkrachten.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Geef ook de cijfers het schooljaar 1987/88.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

*[The page contains faint horizontal lines and small, illegible markings.]*

A black and white photograph of a large, dense crowd of people, mostly men in military uniforms, standing in rows. The crowd is filling the frame, with many individuals looking towards the camera. The image is grainy and has a high-contrast, almost stencil-like quality.

17. Hoe is de schooldag qua tijdsindeling gestructureerd?

begin van de schooldag : .....  
einde van de schooldag : .....  
duur van de lessen : .....  
duur van de middagpauze van ..... tot .....  
duur van de pauzes .....  
aantal pauzes .....

18. Welk percentage van de leerlingen van vorig jaar die thans nog in de school zijn, zijn niet meer leerplichtig? Beantwoordt deze vraag voor voltijdse en deeltijdse leerplicht en geef aparte cijfers voor jongens en meisjes.

voltijdse leerplicht  
meisjes : ..... %  
jongens : ..... %  
deeltijdse leerplicht  
meisjes : ..... %  
jongens : ..... %

19. Geef de gemiddelde aanwezigheidsgraad voor het schooljaar 1987/88 en 1991/92. Geef aparte cijfers voor jongens en meisjes.

1987/88  
meisjes : .....  
jongens : .....  
1991/92  
meisjes : .....  
jongens : .....

20. Welk percentage van de leerlingen moeten het jaar overdoen wegens slechte resultaten tijdens het schooljaar 1991/92?

..... %  
Vergelijk dit met het schooljaar 1987/88.  
..... %

21. Welk percentage van de leerlingen voor het eerst ingeschreven in het eerste jaar hebben volgens U bijzondere educatieve behoeften? (specifieke fysieke-, leer- of gedragsmoeilijkheden)

..... %  
Vergelijk dit met het schooljaar 1987/88.  
..... %